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ABSTRACT

This report, based on theoretical considerations as well as knowledge from cumulated sociological research in the field of compensatory education, is in three parts. Section I is a policy memorandum on Black studies focusing on: bridging education, undergraduate Black studies, and social centers, besides graduate programs and research specialization. The response of American colleges to the underprepared student is dealt with in Section II. Assessment of the clientele, supportive programs for the underprepared, and compensatory programs comprising remedial courses, pre-college programs, intensive programs, and motivation programs are discussed in this section. Section III consists of an annotated bibliography on pluralism and integration on white campuses categorized into: background analyses, either theoretical/philosophical or empirical in nature; materials concerned with the needs of minority students; proposals, designs or demands for programs; reports or statements of programs already in existence; and, assessment of established programs or program proposals and analyses of implications of Black studies. (RJ)

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CENTER FOR POLICY RESEARCH

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POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION AND THE DISADVANTAGED: A POLICY STUDY*

This report has three parts:

(a) A policy memorandum prepared by Amitai Etzioni, Professor of Sociology at Columbia University and Director of the Center for Policy Research.

(b) A review of key issues in compensatory education prepared by Irene Tinker, Professor Government at Federal City College and research associate of the Center for Policy Research.

(c) An annotated bibliography prepared by Carolyn O. Atkinson, lecturer at the Department of Sociology at Columbia University and research associate of the Center for Policy Research, with the assistance of Judith Kalb.

The study is a "think piece," based upon theoretical considerations as well as upon the accumulated knowledge of sociological research; in answering the questions at hand no attempt was made to conduct new studies of the many empirical issues involved. Because much of the research is yet undone, many of the statements in the following discussion must be regarded as hypothetical in nature.

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PART I:

BLACK STUDIES

1. Black Studies, or Studies of the Black?

In the grand debate on the ways in which the American system of higher education should respond to the rising demands of black students, three constructive approaches stand out, each symbolized by a catch-phrase: black-studies, compensatory education, and open enrollment. Each approach encompasses a wide variety of programs and ideas which tend to have a common denominator. Black studies incorporates the notion that a specialized curriculum--in the form of courses, programs or even sub-colleges--be set up in which the teaching will focus on black subjects, such as the history and culture of Negroes, Swahili, or African music. Some advocates favor also the teaching of "regular" subjects, e.g., mathematics, in "a black perspective." The main advocates of the black studies orientation are activist members of the black faculty and student body, and some of their white allies.

Compensatory education refers to all educational efforts to reduce or eliminate the effects that disadvantaged conditions have had on applicants who are not fully qualified to enter an institution of higher learning, according to criteria presently used in the admissions process. The primary supporters of compensatory education are members of the liberal establishment in the government and in universities.

Open enrollment is viewed as admitting to a college all the high school graduates of a specific area (or set of schools) who seek to study in it. A measure of "open enrollment" exists both in state colleges in California and in the major mid-west state universities, but only recently has it been actively considered in areas which have high concentrations of persons from disadvantaged backgrounds. "Open enrollment" is being tried at Rutgers University in Newark and is being reviewed at the City University of New York.

To some extent these three approaches are viewed as mutually complementary, and indeed, as requiring each other for effective implementation. Without compensatory education, it is widely believed, mass enrollment will lead to mass dropouts rather than to a substantial increase in the number of black college graduates. Without black studies programs, it is said, the psychological conditions for successful education of black students will not be available. We explore in a later section the key system linkages which connect these three avenues and ask if, indeed, the available evidence supports the psychological and sociological assumptions made by the advocates of each approach. But even if one accepts uncritically that the three approaches are mutually complementary, one must also realize that they compete over scarce resources--not only funds but also over black high school graduates and teachers, administrative attention, political support and public acceptance. One must therefore ask whether any of these approaches supplies extra leverage in providing equality of opportunity in higher education. Will one of the three approaches yield more than the other two, both in terms of the overall needs of black students and community, and in terms of the specific goals set by the other two approaches? For instance, will the introduction of black studies do more for mass enrollment of black students than mass enrollment of such students will do for the introduction of black studies?

While advancement on all three approaches is desirable, it seems preferable to concentrate on one, in view of the scarcities just outlined. It is our central proposition that a change of admission procedures of the kind suggested by "open enrollment" provides more leverage than the other two approaches. Whereas heretofore the stress has been placed on black studies (mainly by the black movement) and on compensatory education (chiefly by the universities and government), now attention and efforts should be focused on mass enrollment of black students.

The same may be said about other disadvantaged groups. Actually much that follows may also apply to Spanish-Americans, Indians, Orientals, and lower class whites. However we are focusing on black students because at the moment they are the group whose needs are under urgent review. We discuss briefly below the application of our points to other disadvantaged groups.

It is important to stop here for a moment to provide a sense of the magnitudes involved. Negroes constitute 11% of the population and 12% of the college age cohort. Contrary to a widely held impression that there are only a few Negroes in the higher education system, Negroes constituted, according to a widely relied upon study,* between

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*This figure was obtained in 1968/69, before the considerable increase in black enrollment which occurred during 1969/70.

6% to 7% of college students. It is true that about half of these students were enrolled in predominantly Negro colleges, but whatever feelings one has about the desirability of these 123 "separate" colleges, one must nevertheless regard the students enrolled in them as enrolled in institutions of higher education. If one were to make black enrollment proportional to the number of blacks in the community, or even to the number of college-age blacks, it would only mean an addition of approximately 275,000 students to a body of more than 6.5 million.*

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*O.E., Projections of Educational Statistics to 1977-78 (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1968)--estimates total opening fall enrollment for 1969 at 7,541,000 and degree credit enrollment at 6,906,000.

Our reasons for stressing mass enrollment over curriculum changes, specializations or enrichment are several. Basically, we expect that even the most effective compensatory education system will not help to significantly service the long-neglected needs for higher education of the black community, or to advance equality of opportunity in higher education of the black community, or to advance equality of opportunity in higher education, unless large numbers of disadvantaged are enrolled. Until now, the disadvantaged have not been admitted on a large scale. On the contrary, most of the programs designed for the disadvantaged are small, with students ranging in number from a score to a hundred or so. In addition, they have been designed to provide highly intensive and specialized instruction which makes their conversion to mass compensatory education impractical.

Compensatory education for a large number of students is difficult to obtain not only because this program competes openly with other programs for resources but also because few teachers find the prospect of teaching in the program attractive. Expanding regular classes by opening enrollment, as difficult as it seems, poses less of a problem in terms of campus or community politics, than would gaining compensatory education for the same number of students. We have been rapidly approaching the point at which more black students will be enrolled in regular classes which attend to their special needs by various accomodations, than are enrolled in compensatory programs.

The same point holds, even more forcefully, for establishing specialized programs for black studies. The universities, for obvious reasons, find it comparatively easy to allow another specialization to be added to the crazy quilt of disciplines which already make up a modern university. There are already reports that the rapid expansion in the number of these programs outgrew, at least on several campuses, the demand for them. A six week program in black literature at Cazenovia College, given in Spring, 1969, attracted only about a dozen registrants for 100 openings. About 100 teachers joined eight black studies workshops at Canton University; the program could have accommodated twice as many. The University of Arizona cancelled a course on Negro Influence in American Culture for lack of students and only forty persons signed up for 125 spots in a black studies course in Ferris

State College. However, these colleges for which we have such information are not those which have a sizable enrollment of black students. More significant are reports that only a small minority of students at the predominantly black Federal City College in Washington, D.C. enrolled in black studies. While black studies programs other than those on which we have reliable information may draw many more students, they still seem not to appeal to the majority of black students on the campus at this point. For reasons explored below, even if the number of those who will take some courses in the subject will be much higher in the future, only a small fraction of the black students can be expected to choose black studies as their undergraduate major or subject for graduate studies. In short, the mass of black students presently enrolls and, we expect, will continue to enroll either in colleges with a predominantly Negro enrollment which do not devote much time to black studies, or in the regular programs of predominantly white colleges. We do not believe that "propagandizing" will much increase the appeal of black studies to black students and we oppose attempts to coerce them to take up this course of study if they prefer to follow another one. Therefore, as long as the overwhelming majority of black students seeks general education and not specialized black studies, equality of educational opportunities will have to be provided mainly by equalizing opportunities for enrollment in regular programs in white colleges.

We also stress the need for non-discriminatory enrollment because we see that black studies can provide the psychotherapy its advocates promise,* and that compensatory education works best when it is tied to expanding enrollment of students from a disadvantaged background. The very fact that the student is on the campus, in a total educational environment, is a more preferable arrangement than anticipatory programs which are carried out in the community; for such anticipatory programs provide the student only with a vague abstract hope that, upon successful completion of the course work, he may be accepted into a college, possibly even with some advanced standing.

The community compensatory programs do have some advantages; they are less expensive for the students live at home and are able to work during the day and study at night. However, while keeping the student in his own community may reduce the emotional difficulties posed by adjustment to a new college environment, it also slows down the psychological transition a student must make from his former world to the college one; a significant part of the college education takes place by simply being there, being exposed to a world of books and learning, to discussions with fellow students of divergent backgrounds, and to informal contacts with teachers. Frequent interaction with those caught in a disadvantaged world also holds back the student. This is the reason why residential colleges seem preferable to commuter ones, and why in-college programs are better than in-the-community ones. However, these opinions must be regarded as inconclusive until more and better data are available.

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*The reasons for this statement are discussed below.

Another argument in favor of "open enrollment" is that the expanded enrollment of students from a disadvantaged background tends to create a system within the university that is susceptible to pull and push by various member groupings, including a sizable black constituency. This group may well be able to bring about necessary changes, including more attention to and investment in compensatory education and black studies. Although guilty consciences and the fear of demonstrations may at first lead to support of these last two programs, eventually, without expanded enrollment, they may be left with insufficient backing in the university community.

Last but not least, two harsh facts must be faced, and faced together: First, compensatory education, even of the best kind, has rarely succeeded in erasing years of disadvantage, especially if the students are really lower class and not middle-class or upper-working-class in background. Secondly, in the occupational and social world into which the college student graduates, the college experience and the possession of a college degree will help him gain a higher income and status, whatever he studies. All those who have attended college will benefit from having been there whether they participated in compensatory programs, black studies programs or picked other majors. We are *not* stating that these choices will be inconsequential; we only suggest that matriculation and graduation have their own "pay-offs," ones which seem more assured and easier to obtain than benefits derived from black studies or compensatory education.

Our society has been labelled a "credential society," or a "meritocracy," a society in which there are two classes, those with college educations and those without college degrees--the chief basis for upward mobility. We do not subscribe to this somewhat cynical and, in our judgment, innaccurate description. In the first place there are other avenues of mobility, especially ones leading from the lower class into the working class, or into the lower middle-class, the main path black Americans are now taking.

Secondly, and even more to the point, the college degree, by itself, is not an automatic determinant of one's future economic and social achievement. In part, it is used as shorthand to indicate actual educational achievements. In part, reliance is placed on additional measurement from personnel interviews to corporate tests. There are,though, some "automatic" gains; a college degree does confer on its owner, some advantages providing him with access to certain positions without regard to how much he actually has learned. He might be given the opportunity to learn on the job, a chance he would never have had unless he possessed first the entrance ticket, or college degree. For instance, most of what a social worker knows which is relevant to her job may well be learned at work, but many an agency would not hire a person for this position unless she has a B.A. (or B.S.).

How much of the variance in income and status can be attributed to the degree *per se* is extremely difficult to measure,* and varies from one sector of employment to another. This figure also varies over time, depending on how many new degrees are issued in relation to the number of positions requiring the degree which need to be filled. It seems, though, that a college degree is a far from insignificant mechanism of reallocation.*

It follows that as more black students graduate, more will have access to the same magic key to the upper and middle reaches of the American society now available to the sons and daughters of other segments of the society. To put it most bluntly, simply graduating many more persons of disadvantaged background will be beneficial; the benefits will increase as attainments are made through compensatory and regular channels. For the aforementioned reasons we seek to expand enrollment of persons of disadvantaged background until equality of opportunity in higher education is reached. Once this is stated, it follows immediately that, in order for the black students to benefit fully from college education, both in terms of their own personal development and in terms of future economic achievements, compensatory education should be as effective and widely applied as is feasible. Secondly, it follows that to the degree there is authentic demand for a black studies program on the undergraduate and graduate level, it should be provided.

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*For attempts to estimate the effects of education on occupational status see Peter Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan, The American Occupational Structure (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967). For estimates of the factors which cause the gap between the occupational and income levels of blacks and whites see Paul M. Siegel, "On the Cost of Being a Negro," Sociological Inquiry Vol. 35 (Winter 1965) pp. 41-57; and Otis Dudley Duncan, "Inheritance of Poverty or Inheritance of Race" in On Understanding Poverty, edited by Daniel P. Moynihan (New York: Basic Books, 1969) pp. 85-110.

*This point is discussed and relevant evidence presented in a forthcoming report by Amitai Etzioni and Murray Milner for the U.S. Office of Education.

2. The Limits and Values of Compensatory Education

The most important factor which determines the effects of compensatory education on the students, the university, and the society at large is the number of students enrolled in the program. A fine program with a few students is a rare event, interesting to social scientists as an experimental laboratory, and valuable to public relations officials who point to it with drummed-up pride. A program with mass enrollment, even if of lesser equality, will affect the future of race and class relations in America.

There is a great diversity of views as to what extent black students require compensatory education and what its functions and effects ought to be. At the one extreme are those who believe that students from disadvantaged backgrounds are just as able to complete a college education as other students, and do not require any remedial or compensatory education. At the opposite extreme are those who believe that the roots of disadvantaged conditions rest in biological differences which no amount or kind of education can eliminate. This view has found recently renewed support in an often quoted and much debated article by Jensen.* Still others hold that while there may be no biological differences, pupils not reached by the time they complete primary school, or, at the latest, high school, cannot catch up.

The more moderate positions range from those who hold that a limited program, for example, evening classes or a summer's pre-enrollment will suffice, to those who hold that encompassing and prolonged efforts are necessary. Those who are of this last opinion maintain that even an intensive program will only serve to reduce, but not eliminate the effects of the disadvantaged background. Thus the optimists put some faith in making the existing educational structure available to black students, while the pessimists argue that far-reaching changes in the structure are necessary, before it will be accessible to all.

While there are numerous reports and some studies of compensatory higher education, the efficiency of compensatory education and the kind of program needed cannot be specified on the basis of existing empirical evidence. One of the most urgent tasks of those concerned with higher education for the disadvantaged is to establish, on the basis of experimentation and additional research, the "how" and "how much" of compensatory education.

The data which do exist, are based more on studies of students drawn not from the lower segments of the disadvantaged, but from the upper parts, as measured either in class terms or in terms of educational capabilities. This suggests that compensatory education, as a mass tool, may be even more limited in its efficacy than studies now available suggest; in order to gain whatever it can give, intensive prolonged programs, as well structural adaptations are needed.

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*Arthur R. Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievements?" Harvard Educational Review, Spring, 1969.

Tentatively, we suggest that for compensatory education to be relatively effective the following guidelines must be followed:

1. The program should start as early as possible. If the high school years have already been missed, pre-enrollment programs of a full year or at least of one summer preceding entrance into the regular college curriculum are recommended.
2. Continued supportive education is necessary throughout the entire college curriculum for many disadvantaged students, in the form of additional tutorials, extra sessions to follow regular classes, specific remedial courses, and the like.
3. Financial support is needed for most students of these programs and often for their families. This point is illustrated below.
4. Two kinds of counseling are required: academic--for the student to find his way in the academic maze; psychological--to help overcome the anxiety and tensions which participation in the program and in the predominantly white college generates.
5. For reasons briefly discussed above, total programs, in which the participants are brought to live on the campus, seem preferable to those which are carried out in the community. However, this particular point requires further examination.

6. Teaching materials and methods as well as evaluation techniques ought to be modified to take into account the disadvantaged subculture.*

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*For additional discussion, see Section II, of this report.

Even when all this is done, systematically, by qualified personnel, we expect that for a large proportion of disadvantaged students, significant residues of their previous condition will affect them upon graduation from college. We must reiterate this point: one should not expect miracles from compensatory education and must learn to support it for what it can do--it can reduce the penalties of the disadvantaged background and enhance social justice, but it cannot, by itself, secure it.

3. Open Enrollment: How Far?

"Open enrollment" creates a mass education system inferior in quality to a selective system. Increases in the budget of higher education, a larger teaching staff, and intensive compensatory education can reduce the loss in quality, but, unless one compares the open system with one that is only slightly selective, there is an unavoidable loss in quality of education. The dilution of standards often leads to an almost automatic promotion from grade to grade, and to almost automatic graduation. Thus, in such a system advancement in the educational process is dissociated from any measure of achievement. The pressure is now on to do to college education what was done to public high schools--to turn it into a truly mass education. While the pressure to expand enrollment comes from many sources, the most immediate and intensive source is that of students of disadvantaged background and their supporters, because they are disproportionally excluded when traditional selective admission criteria, are applied.

Theoretically, one could provide for social justice in higher education without opening the flood gates, by providing students of all backgrounds with a proportional share of the available openings. However, this requires the suspension of merit as a criterion for admission, at least merit as registered by high school grades and college tests. To put it more bluntly, as more white parents demand a place for their child in college, it will be increasingly difficult, if not outright impossible to admit a large number of less qualified students at the expense of more qualified white ones, who can find no place in college. As sociologists have often discovered, social justice can be advanced more readily in an expanding system which admits both an increased number of whites and non-whites. This is the reason social justice and open enrollment must go hand in hand. Assuming that higher education would be provided to all who seek it, we still must ask--how much? Should open enrollment, universal education, the legitimate right of every man to be educated, be carried out through undergraduate education? Graduate education? Post graduate? Is there a limit? The answer, that the system should provide "all the education a qualified person is able to absorb" is not satisfactory because the term "qualified" suggests a selective system; the question is how far should broad based non-selective education be provided?

Non-selective education is very expensive, more expensive than medical education which is often cited as the most expensive kind. While the cost per student is, of course, much lower in mass college education than in medical school, because of the _much_ greater number of students involved, the addition of one year universal undergraduate college education may entail costs of between ten and fifteen billion dollars, depending on how much dilution of quality one tolerates.

One place to draw the line between _universal_ and _selective_ education is where a _liberating_ education ceases and a _technical_ one begins. Without entering here into a detailed discussion of the functions of higher education, let us simply state that it is both supposed to enlighten and to provide specific skills and information; both to help form better human beings and to prepare men for those vocations which require "higher" technical education. (The line is, of course, often blurred as the liberal arts serve to prepare students for business careers or social work; however, most higher education efforts can be assessed as falling mainly into one category or the other.) Ideally, all citizens should receive the same basic amount of liberating ("humanizing," "broadening," liberal-arts) education because there is no reason why one citizen is entitled to, or needs more self-expansion than the other. Conversely, technical education should be limited in scope in rough proportion to the projected need for persons requiring such preparation.*

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*This raises complex issues as to whose values are to be taken into account in making such projections, a subject we cannot explore here.

Graduation from high school could serve as one line of demarcation, indicating the point at which the focus on a liberating education ends. Unfortunately, American high schools do not provide sufficient education of this kind and the parents actively seek to prolong it, in the more selective college system. About 60% of high school graduates enroll in college; however, only a little more than a third of those graduating from high school graduate from college, as of 1968.* Hence, any suggestion that liberating education will be completed in high school is bound to encounter such bitter and widespread opposition as to make a policy which draws the line at the end of high school an impractical alternative.

But does it follow that college education should be provided to everyone? The pressure surely is on to do exactly that. But such a mass higher education will, at best, be a very diluted college education, of the kind now provided by some mid-western state universities with semi-open enrollment during the first semester (after which they screen out many freshmen). It will be a very expensive system because inferior teachers do not cost much less than good ones, and facilities, from classrooms to cafeterias, must be provided for very large numbers. A near universal college education would almost surely kill, at least for the next decade, any hopes for significant improvement in the quality of higher education and for financing and staffing large scale intensive compensatory education.

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*U.S. Office of Education, Digest of Educational Statistics--1968 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1968) p. 7; and Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 182, April 28, 1968, p. 9.

Thus, as we see it, an "early" cutoff point would be preferable. Sheer expansion of the system tends to turn it into an educational factory, which does not liberate but rather alienate those processed by it. Ideally, one would narrow the neck at the end of high school, at least for the next five, probably ten years, until quality and equality of education can be built up. But, in view of the role already assumed by college education, it seems impossible to turn the clock back. Possibly it is not too late to draw the line at two years of college education, and this is where we recommend it be drawn now. We say "now" because we expect that just as the definition of what is considered "poverty" moved upward in terms of income over the years, so will the societal concept as to what is "sufficient" liberating higher education. But, at this stage it may still be possible to hold the line at two years of "humanizing" education until more quality of education is achieved for those enrolled at this level. The suggestion to focus on liberal arts education in the first two years and on higher technical education in the last two is in line with a distribution already found in many colleges; we suggest that this tendency be explicated and extended.

To draw the line, all colleges should be encouraged to distinguish between junior and senior colleges, even if they are in the same institution, and Federal support which is given to undergraduate education should be focused on the first two years. (It would be desirable, if, in the two years of technical education, the degree awarded would be a B.S. and not a B.A. This would symbolize the change in the system. More B.S.'s could be awarded and the B.A. would be viewed only as indication of specialization in humanities). A degree of Associate of Arts should be awarded to make the two-year mark more visible and to make termination of education at this point more rewarding. Non-federal resources, public and private, should be released and redirected as much as possible to provide a more egalitarian and better education during those two years. Once this goal is approximated, the line may be moved up to three or four years, but the stage at which this could be done prudently is at least ten years away.

We note in passing that we draw on sociological research and theory in our view of what the functions of a college education are and of how the program might be divided, as well as in the following analysis of institutional integration. Nevertheless, we see no deep sociological reason for drawing the line at the two year mark. It could be drawn at higher or lower levels; we pragmatically draw it at the two year mark in order to divide the basic liberating education from the more technical higher education.

So far we have treated both quality and equality together in contrast to mere extension of universal higher education for four years. Obviously there is a tension between equality and quality--

one quick way to improve quality of education for those who gain it is to leave out those who come from a disadvantaged background. We therefore, need to rank our values. We favor giving full priority to equality of higher education, because, basically, we cannot see what right some citizens could have to quality higher education if others are excluded from it. Consequently, whatever quality is being built up should be shared by all. To do that for four years of college is simply not possible in the foreseeable future. Therefore, the system should be encouraged to provide, for the time being, two--not four--years of liberal arts education for all, and to improve the quality of these years as much as possible. This would be far preferable to trying to increase the number of those enrolled in all four years of college. The main reason we must not apply the same normative criteria for higher technical education beginning in the third year of college is, that while liberating education is beneficial to all, higher technical education is useful only for those who will work in jobs which require such education. The number of such jobs is much smaller than the number of citizens. This may sound as if we recommend a system in which the high power technocratic positions are reserved for the elite, while "self expansion" is available to all. We suggest below a mechanism which makes it possible for all to share equally in the access to higher technical education. We are less sure about the specific mechanism than we are about the belief upon which it is based--that social justice, as applied to equality of opportunities in higher education should not stop at the gates of higher technical education. Our realization that, at some point the relative number of students engaged in higher education will have to be limited, does not tacitly endorse a policy which uses criteria, directly or indirectly discriminatory, in determining those who are allowed to continue. It is a much smaller pie but it can still be allocated with justice.

For junior colleges, we favor "open enrollment" in the sense that every graduate of high school who wishes to attend should be able to find a place in the system. (Attendance should not be made mandatory.) To further advance equality of opportunity in higher education, we favor that the U.S. Office of Education encourage the states to set up semi-annual external examinations which would allow students who dropped out of high school and are past high school age to be examined on high school course work. Passing this exam would qualify these students for a high school diploma and thus--for admission into college. External examinations would increase the equality of higher education because a disproportionally large part of the dropouts are from a disadvantaged background. The USOE could support the evolution of such external examinations by studying the requirements of setting up such a system, by financing the development of a demonstration project in cooperation with a state willing to experiment. The USOE should also encourage representatives of other state departments of education to come and visit the model system and, if they desire, help them in setting up their own. It was not our task here to examine what provisions are already available for this purpose. We understand some provisions may be available but clearly here are not universally available and readily accessible).

The federal role in guiding higher education is largely one of advice and support, not legislation or administrative decrees. One must therefore expect that many private colleges will not participate in the effort to provide universal two-year college education; public colleges will do so only if their state or city will be willing to endorse such an educational policy. But, as these institutions face the pressures to expand admission to all, especially to the disadvantaged, many of them may see the merit of drawing a sharp line at the two-year mark. If federal aid for undergraduate education was focused on the first two years, and given conditionally to the institution upon establishment of an open admissions policy and a viable compensatory education program, this would be a further inducement for the colleges to move in the desired direction. The same would hold if massive federal support was provided for compensatory education in the first two years; this would serve to reduce the fear of middle class white parents that the quality of education would suffer for a long time if open enrollment were allowed.

It should be noted that the more colleges that participate in the separation of the junior-universal (liberal arts) from the senior-selective (technical) system, the lower the burden would be on any single institution. This suggests that as many institutions as possible should be encouraged to open their doors at the same time and that some means of distributing disadvantaged students among participating colleges is necessary. This last point might be applied, for instance, among the colleges which constitute the City University of New York. The procedures necessary are a subject which deserves a study of its own.

The Senior College

Assuming that the third and fourth college years of participating institutions would be mainly "technical" in their orientation, not unlike graduate schools, who should be admitted?

We assume that at this point the neck of the educational pyramid will narrow considerably as we see no reason every other young man should have access to higher technical education. Possibly only 4.5% to 6.5% of the age stratum (about the percent now entering graduate school), or a slightly higher figure to allow for expansion of the higher technical system of society, will be accommodated. (Again, we do not assume the federal government will force such a narrowing of the higher education system at this level, however, we do expect a significant number of colleges to consider it and distribute financial support in such a way as to encourage such a development.)

The question remains--how will social justice be enhanced on this level? We have already indicated that even if there was intensive compensatory education, we would not expect the effects of a disadvantaged background to be erased by the time students reach the gates of the senior colleges. It follows, then, that admission to senior college by merit would admit not only a much smaller proportion of disadvantaged students than there are in the society but also a much smaller proportion of such students than their proportion among those who graduate from junior colleges.

Higher technical education is the basis for obtaining powerful positions in the society in terms of income, status, and is a source of "success models" which are needed if persons from a disadvantaged background are to be motivated to accept the strains and costs of higher education. In addition, screening by merit only permits cold efficiency, in the narrow technocratic sense, and does away with considerations of social justice. In view of the aforementioned facts, we favor that some corrective steps be taken to bring the proportion of disadvantaged students admitted to the senior colleges in line with the proportion in the graduating class of the junior colleges. This figure, which would probably rise over the next years if the above-outlined recommendations are implemented, still would not exceed the proportion of disadvantaged students in the college age group, e.g., 12% blacks. In 1970-71 this figure would still be much below 6%, the ratio of black students who enter undergraduate college.

A corrective measure, to result in greater social justice, can be attained by eliminating discriminatory admission tests and by lessening the reliance on grades in those areas in which white students tend especially to excel. But this, by itself, may well not do the trick. Some form of a quota may be required, if equality of higher education is to be advanced. Students within the quota would be selected on the basis of merit among those of disadvantaged background.

The basis of the quota could vary. Using the 12% figure would yield the quickest results but generate maximum opposition. Using the graduate junior college class as the relevant base would mean a somewhat different quota each year, expanding year after year toward the proportional 12% limit, without causing a sudden jump. Compensatory education for students admitted on this basis ought to be provided, throughout senior college, to sustain the quality of education. We should emphasize that the numbers involved are not large. If the percentage of disadvantaged students admitted above and beyond those admitted on the basis of sheer merit as measured by traditional criteria, were increased each year to match the rising proportion graduated by the junior colleges this would still entail no more than several thousand more students. The basic reason for this is that the number of Negroes who graduate each year on this level is still not high, and cannot be increased rapidly without first increasing the number of Negro freshmen and sophomores. As white enrollment also rises, the proportion of black students may grow, but probably not at a rapid rate. Actually, unless special efforts are made, it may fall back.

If the system had been introduced in March 1968, the following figures would apply: among college-age youth under 21 there were, with two years of college education:

Negroes	63,000*
Whites	1,118,000**

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*Population Characteristics, op. cit., p. 12. Note that these figures are measuring all those in an age cohort but not those who

Without any "rationing" we find in the third year 24,000 Negroes and 520,000 whites. To maintain during the third year the same proportion of Negroes as graduate from the second year, 5.3% or 28,832 Negroes would have to be admitted, or 4,832 more than would have been admitted otherwise. If total enrollment were reduced to 500,000, the number of Negroe students would be 26,500.

Junior Technical Education

Under the suggested system, the overwhelming majority of all students will not continue beyond their sophomore year. Many of them will seek access to lower middle class occupations and semi-professions, from which disadvantaged persons are barred almost as much as from the top positions. The existing situation here is well summarized by Oscar Lewis who stated:

> "The majority of Afro-Americans work not in their neighborhoods but for one of the non-neighborhood corporations or employers, and so it shall be for as far ahead as we can see. The black problem is that while we are 11 percent of the population, we have only 2 percent of the jobs at the top, 4 percent of the jobs in the middle, and are forced into 16 percent of the jobs at the bottom--indeed into as much as 40 percent of some of the jobs at the very bottom. Clearly, our minimum objective must be to capture 11 percent of the jobs in the middle and 11 percent of the jobs at the top."

Lewis goes on to indicate that higher education provides the major channel of mobility into these middle and higher levels. Higher tech-

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graduate in a specific year and that these figures are used here for illustrative purposes to provide an indication of the numbers involved and not as actual projections.

***Ibid.*, p. 9.

nical education and general college education leads to the higher 11%, while lower technical education is more likely to lead to the middle 11%. Furthermore, this system assures that there will be no loss in the share of positions at the top of the lower-ranking jobs which are increasingly technical themselves. It is therefore important to develop opportunities for "lower" technical training in conjunction with junior liberal arts education. There are several ways in which this can be achieved; each method differs in the extent to which it neglects the liberal arts component as it focuses on the technical one. For instance, some two-year college programs are openly committed to technical education (e.g., preparing TV repairmen) providing little else; others combine within two years of college a liberal arts program and a degree of Associate of Arts with an extensive program of technical education; still others are professional schools which provide liberal arts on the side; still other combined programs require more than two years. Still another option is to evolve a mainly liberal arts program in the first two years, combined with some technical education in the first two years and a full technical program in the third one.

There are two issues at stake here: first, if we agree that each student who seeks two years of liberal arts should be entitled to such an education, we must be sure that such an opportunity is available for all. Furthermore we should see to it that economic pressures and educational conveniences will not, in effect, pressure persons, especially the disadvantaged, to enroll in programs which provide, on the junior level, mainly technical education and only a semblance of a liberating program. A careful limitation of those programs leading to the A.A. degree may be one procedure; economic aid (see below) another; still others must be experimented with. We ought to establish much more precisely the distribution of disadvantaged persons in these programs. Are they more often found in those programs which are excessively technical? Are students from disadvantaged backgrounds foregoing opportunities for two years of liberal arts education because of economic pressures rapidly to gain a well-paying job? Are they tending towards programs which lead to rewarding technical vocations?

An alternative view to the one indicated so far deserves to be recorded. We have assumed so far that it is better to provide all students with two years of undiluted liberal arts education rather than to subsidize a technical education for disadvantaged students. Our reasons are that (a) access to higher technical education, top business and political positions tends to require at least two years of such education; (b) that two years of self-expansion are themselves a "good" which should not be allocated in a discriminatory manner.

However, it might be said that most disadvantaged students cannot afford such luxury; that they need higher income rapidly. This income can be achieved more readily in the semi-professions (such as accounting) training for which does not require an A.A. but only one or two years of technical education. In addition, it is said that one can advance later from lower to higher technical positions (e.g., from that of a nurse's aide to that of a practical nurse) and, by returning to college (maybe in evening classes) one may rise still higher (e.g., a registered nurse). The choice between these alternatives is, in part, a matter of normative values, as to what one believes is more urgently needed--additional income or self-expansion and social "income"; in part it is a matter of evidence, as to how much additional income is gained by entering the labor market with earlier technical training without an A.A. as compared to later technical training with an A.A.; in part it is a matter of policy--can one surmount occupational barriers sufficiently to move ahead in the occupational world or is education basically the shortest way up? Lastly, it is a question of who pays for higher education and how much.

Financing the Education of the Disadvantaged

There are already several major reports on new expanded ways of financing higher education. It is obvious that one of the criteria to be applied in expanding these funds is social justice, in addition to merit, however income also will have to be made a criterion of distribution. This can be achieved by requiring a student who registers to hand in a copy of his parents' income tax return (already required by some colleges) to establish his family's income level. Those in the upper reaches may be expected to pay full tuition, and should be charged, in our judgment, in public colleges which are now free; middle income groups should receive two years of higher education free, and lower income groups--should be given substantial fellowships. This may well have to be higher than what is offered frequently today. (Gradations other than higher, middle and lower may well be called for).

The federal government might give each middle income student a two-year tuition fellowship and each lower income student a tuition-plus-living-allowance one. The students would be free to apply these funds at whatever college they enroll in. The college might receive a "matching grant" for each student who enrolls to ease the expansion of the system on the junior level. This "matching grant" would be provided by the federal government to reduce the deficits of state, city and private colleges. In addition, special funds should be made available for each student enrolled in a compensatory education program. The more encompassing the program, the larger the grants may be.

At present only very little federal aid is made available to help increase equality of opportunity in higher education; what is necessary is not to increase those funds 10% or even 100%, but to increase them many times over. Funds are now often used for highly specialized programs which serve a few hundred disadvantaged students; however, the need runs into the tens and maybe hundreds of thousands. Programs to fund Afro centers, black studies chairs, and experimental programs may well continue at higher levels, but the main effort will have to go to provide support for mass enrollment (tuitions, living allowances and "matching grants") and compensatory education for those enrolled. If this is not done, changes in admission criteria will be ineffective because the disadvantaged student's inability to support himself while studying will continue to impose a discriminatory pattern no longer upheld by admission criteria. In addition, for disadvantaged students who enroll the lack of financial support will add to their burdens of adjustment, making their higher education more difficult than that of privileged students.

Institutional Integration, Prestige and Tracking

Sociologists debated for many years whether or not stratification is a necessary societal institution or if there can be a truly egalitarian society. From the viewpoint of the policy maker, this is a rather meaningless debate for, whatever side one takes, one must realize that there is no possible way stratification differences can be erased in the foreseeable future. Policy makers must assume that such differentiations will persist and must try to reduce the cleavages and their damaging consequences. This assumption guides the following recommendations; that is, we see no way to eliminate prestige gradations among institutions of higher education and programs within them but we can suggest a means of reducing the damaging effects they have on disadvantaged students.

One approach favored by both conservative whites and militant blacks is to segregate the studies of black and white students, either in separate colleges or in sub-divisions within the same campus. While it is true that such segregation would reduce the psychic costs of adapting to the demands of higher education, it has many other highly undesirable side effects, discussed below, which lead us to favor as much institutional integration as possible. Thus, in our opinion, it is preferable to have a junior and a senior college in the same institution rather than on two separate campuses, and to integrate compensatory education programs as much as possible into the campus rather than to leave them off-campus.

Institutional integration reduces prestige differences by reducing the visibility of the differences in the programs followed. Thus if two students are enrolled in CCNY, one in the open junior college program and one in the selective senior college program, one would be enrolled in a much less "terminal,"more technically oriented "track" than the other. With greater institutional segregation this difference would be visible if, for instance, the first student is enrolled an an unprestigious community college and the second--at CCNY. Similarly, it is much more evident that one has not yet qualified if one is enrolled in a pre-college program off-campus than if it is held on the campus. This is not to suggest that separations of programs within the campus or tracking within junior colleges bear no prestige differences; however, these differences provide subtler gradations than those embodied in separate institutions. The present trend of setting up "urban universities" or community colleges is undesirable from this viewpoint and should be discouraged in favor of integration of the new junior colleges. These junior colleges should be viewed as expansions of the first two years of existing four-year colleges even if the location of a two-year branch is not on the same campus. In addition to reducing the prestige gradations, it allows junior colleges to draw on the experience and resources of the four-year colleges.

Secondly, the lines between programs--especially between compensatory and regular, between terminal (two years) and preparatory (leading to senior college), and between more and less technical orientations should be kept as flexible as possible. There are likely to be a fair number of qualified students each year who may wish to shift from a technical to a liberal arts program or vice versa. To ease these transitions varying mechanisms should be provided facilitating the transfer of credit and fellowships from one program to another. Again, the placing of several kinds of programs in the same college makes divisions between them more flexible than when they are in wholly separate institutions.*

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*A major question arises in this context about the future of the 123 colleges whose enrollment is predominantly Negro. This is a question that deserves separate study, and one that has, of course, many ramifications in the issues explored here.

Some states have a college system in which students who do well can go directly to the top university, those who do less well are assigned to state colleges, and those who do even less well go to community colleges. This approach institutionalizes and maximizes the visibility of differences, and leads to the concentration of students of disadvantaged background in some colleges. If separation of students by preparation and aptitude is necessary, it may be better to do so within each institution rather than to allow a system to emerge in which the name of the college you graduate from provides a basis for a rigidly stratified system which overshadows individual differences and achievements.

I

The response of most faculty members to the mounting drive for black studies programs is, not surprisingly, marked by confusion: the term "black studies" encompasses programs and aspirations whose variety hardly permit an undifferentiated response. Some of the conceptions, especially those that challenge academic freedom and societal values, will likely continue to arouse broad and bitter opposition. Others that seek to enrich scholarship through research and study in such subjects as the sociology of the ghetto and the history of the Negro-American community are winning wide support. Still other programs view black studies as requiring separate black social communities on white campuses, an approach which some consider resegregation but which may also be viewed as a sociological prerequisite for ultimately successful integration at other social levels and later stages. In short, thoughtful reaction requires a differentiated response.

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*Carolyn O. Atkinson's contributions to this section of the report closely approximated those of a co-author; her modesty stops her from sharing the by-line. I also gratefully acknowledge the comments of Sarajane Heidt, Murray Milner, Martin Wenglinsky, all members of the Center for Policy Research, and of Harry A. Marmion. A different version of this section was reported to the annual meeting of the American Council on Education in 1969. For elaboration of the the theoretical points made, see Amitai Etzioni's The Active Society: A Theory of Societal and Political Processes (New York: Free Press, 1968.

The analysis here presents some of the issues faculty members must consider in four different areas: admission of students from disadvantaged backgrounds; compensatory education for those admitted without full qualifications; specialization in ethnic studies; and separate facilities for the social life of students of a minority group. Factors that will influence the directions of faculty responses in each of these areas are explored.

The analysis here is based on materials other than a study of the way faculties have reacted to these four key aspects of programs for students from disadvantaged backgrounds. In the situation of considerable flux, we doubt the usefulness of reporting a study that would show X percent of prefessors prefer one version of black studies while Y percent prefer another. Our analysis derives from sociological research and theory on related issues in the fields of race relations, social mobility, societal change, and educational reorganization. All these areas have implications for our inquiry and a fund of theoretical material and empirical finds with which to inform it.

Before we attempt to outline criteria by which one may conceptualize, differentiate, and assess the consequences of the ideas, programs, and actions of this new movement, we must stress that almost all the conceptions advanced thus far emphasize black studies rather than study by blacks. The highest priority is given to the demands of black students (and faculty) for the inclusion of certain kinds of courses in the curricula offered by predominantly white colleges and universities. Secondary attention--often at the end of a long list of curriculum demands--is given to seeking the admission of more black students to these institutions.* As these lines are written, students at City College of City University of New York are demanding that half of the entering class in 1970 be black and Puerto Rican. This kind of demand, which may become more widespread, has only recently reached the top of the list of demands even at this institution.

In our judgment, only a minority of the black high school graduates who enter college will major or concentrate in black studies. Rather, the main issue concerning the majority of black students will be the substance and quality of the general education they receive, not the one or two courses they may elect from the black studies program. Hence, the major need of the black community and the society is to expand considerably the numbers of black students admitted to college and to assure the effectiveness of this expansion by providing the needed bridging education. Almost none of the documents and reports of oral presentations* of advocates of black studies include a demand to provide students of disadvantaged backgrounds with bridging education. Yet the need is not only that black students be admitted to colleges but also that they shall graduate *and* have gained an education that will be effective and meaningful in the changing society they will enter and whose transformation they will help accomplish. Bridging education is being promoted by others in the education field, and--we shall see--is a complex and difficult matter. But these factors neither explain nor justify the almost total disregard by the black studies movement of the need for such education.

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*A typical list, the demands of black students at the University of Wisconsin, follows: "(1) An autonomous black studies department controlled and organized by black students and faculty which would enable students to receive a B.A. in black studies. (2) A black chairman of the black studies department who would be approved by a committee of black students and faculty. (3) That at least 500 black students be admitted to the University next fall. (4) That 20 teachers be allocated for the initiation of the black studies department with the approval of black students. (5) That amnesty, defined as no reprisal or chastisement, be given all students who participate in boycotts or other such actions in reference to our demands. (6) That a black co-director of the Student Financial Aids Office (scholarships, loans, etc.) be appointed with the approval of black students. (7) That black counselors be hired by the Student Financial Aids Office with the approval of black students. (8) That scholarships be provided for all athletes up until the time that they receive their degree. Some athletes have to go for a fifth year. (9) That the existing black courses be transferred into the black studies department. (10) That it be established that black students with the black faculty have the power to hire and fire all administrators and teachers who are involved in anything related to black students. (11) That it be established that control of the black cultural center be in the hands of black students. (12) That all expelled Oshkosh State University students who wish to attend the University be admitted immediately. (13) That proof as defined by black student that the above demands have been met be given to black students by the administration" (Washington Post, Feb. 14, 1969).

Instrumental Education for Black Students

For the black studies movement, it is simpler to imply that a program designed to build black identity and pride will provide a

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*Many of these are reported in the daily press and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*.

viable education for black students than it is to confront the deeper, more complex issues. Many black students, it seems to us, both desire and need more than liberation from psychological shackles. What they may need is discussed below. What they desire is instrumental education in addition to black studies. Data from surveys on current and potential students of Federal City College* show that 66 percent of the respondents said that black studies were "extremely important" and 24 percent said that they were "important."* At the same time, the report that "most of the 90% black student body were interested in pursuing careers in business, teaching, and science-related fields,"* suggests that interest in the expressive aspects of education do not supplant more instrumental concerns.*

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*Federal City College, a land-grant college which opened in the fall of 1968 in Washington, D.C., is an urban college whose student body is 90 percent black and was chosen by lot.

*Peter G. Nordie et al., The Role of College-Community Relationships in Urban Higher Education (Washington: Bureau of Research, Office of Education, 1969), 2:101.

*Washington Post, March 6, 1969.

*Instrumental education refers to education acquired as a means to other ends than the sheer acquisition of knowledge as such. Ex-

pressive Education is a goal in itself. The distinction is analytic in that most courses have some elements of both but, for a given population of students, it is usually easy to tell which aspect is dominant. We here class the courses (or classes) according to the predominant element.

Consistent with these findings are those from a study of high school seniors in Washington and applicants to Federal City College who were asked what kinds of courses and curriculum they thought FCC should develop. The results* were as follows:

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*Helen Astin and Ann Bisconti, *The Role of College-Community Relationships in Urban Higher Education*, 3:8, Appendix.

FCC should develop a curriculum that included primarily traditional courses in the liberal arts and sciences, such as algebra, zoology, history, and so on.

Seniors, 22.3 percent; applicants, 31.5 percent

FCC should develop a curriculum that includes primarily courses on community needs and urban problems, such as race and cultural relations, urban legal problems, and so on.

Seniors, 14.7 percent; applicants, 15.4 percent

FCC should develop a curriculum that includea primarily courses in preparation for the world of work such as data processing, medical technology, and so on.

Seniors, 24.9 percent; applicants, 21.7 percent

FCC should develop a curriculum which includes courses on issues and problems of contemporary society as well as classically academic courses.

Seniors, 35.5 percent; applicants 27.3 percent

FCC should develop a curriculum that includes primarily courses that emphasize African history and culture.

Seniors, 2.5 percent; applicants, 3.5 percent

Although our informal contacts and observations offer no hard evidence, they and the logic of the situation suggest that these findings are not atypical. They imply that if a student is able to choose among programs, he is more likely to opt for one which is also strongly instrumentally oriented rather than chiefly expressive.

Do black studies provide the education that is desired and needed? To what degree do they accomplish this, and through which of the varying conceptions of black studies? The following sociological criteria may serve as guidelines for reviewing and comparing various conceptions of black studies.

Education, it is often said, ought to prepare students for life in the society into which they will graduate. But our society is changing both of its own accord and in response to the pressure exerted by its underprivileged members through growing political awareness and action. Thus, the question must be asked: for which society are students to be prepared--the society that the Kerner Commission saw as "racist" and as moving toward a bifurcation into separate and unequal parts; an Afro-American statehood; or society closely approximating the assimilation-integration model, in which the black minority eventually blends into and becomes indistinguishable from the white majority? None of these alternatives offers either a realistic or a normatively justifiable view of the society for which current students can and ought to prepare themselves.

This is not the place to discuss in detail the near future of American society; nor would it be wise to build an educational program on highly specific assumptions about the future. Yet some remarks on this highly intricate and speculative subject will clarify a framework within which the following discussion can be assessed:

1. The society will be an affluent one. A GNP of $4.5 billion and a per capita GNP of $12,000 per year are predicted for the year 2000.*

2. Racial and other forms of discrimination will certainly not disappear, but will probably decline, especially in the area of economic opportunity. The number of good-paying jobs available to persons from disadvantaged backgrounds will increase.

3. Most of these positions will require vocational, semiprofessional, or professional skills of the kind provided by instrumental college training. A projection for 1975 shows 88.6 million professional and technical employees in the United States (a growth of 64 percent compared to 1960), with only 13.7 million positions for clerical employees (a growth of 40 percent), 6.1 million for sales personnel (+39 percent), 15.5 million for operatives--semiskilled workers (+29 percent), and 3.8 million for laborers (+3 percent).

To some extent, the mere possession of a college degree will continue to be an advantage in the labor market. But to state that ours is a "credential society" and to imply that how well one is trained matters little so long as he has a degree is a dangerous half-truth. Degrees matter, but so do competence, recommendation letters, the institution that awarded the degree, and so on. And the larger the proportion of the population having college degrees and the more that degrees are granted "automatically" to students who remain in residence or participate in a special studies department without acquiring full instrumental training, the greater the likelihood that graduate schools, civil service, corporations, and other employers will develop secondary screening mechanisms and tie their rewards to other criteria and achievements. High school diplomas as a credential underwent a similar transformation, and the beginnings of the process for college degrees are already visible. How quickly this can happen may be seen from the following:

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*Herman Kahn and Antony J. Wiener, The Year 2000 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1967), p. 10.

> Those who finished these courses designed by Hutchins at Chicago received a B.A. But other colleges, particularly graduate schools, rarely recognized this as a true B.A. and often required the Chicago College graduate to take a year, and sometimes two, of additional courses before they admitted him to graduate work.*

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*Daniel Bell, The Reforming of General Education (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1968), p. 30.

To some extent, the development of additional screening mechanisms can be retarded by the political pressure on employers, and underprivileged groups and their allies can be expected to continue that pressure. But the prediction must remain that substantial differences in instrumental qualifications will significantly affect the allocation of resources in the future society, of which students from disadvantaged backgrounds both desire and deserve a greater share.

Instrumental Characteristics of General Education

The stress here on the instrumental function of undergraduate education may raise the question: Are not the colleges the seats of general education, with instrumental training occurring primarily in the graduate and professional schools? Undergraduate colleges do provide some straight instrumental preparation: (1) Their graduates are hired as teachers and social workers on the basis of the B.A. degrees awarded them. (2) They serve as preparatory schools for professional schools (courses in mathematics for future engineers). (3) They communicate values, information, and "discipline" that are prerequisites for success in the existing society. (4) For undergraduates who go on to graduate work, a major in philosophy, English, or French (and so forth) is preprofessional if study is continued in the same or a related area. (5) Many educationalists like to discuss the fine general education programs of Harvard, the University of Chicago, and Columbia and to imitate them; yet the instrumental aspects of the same teaching materials increase when they are used at Wayne State, Bowling Green, San Jose State, or wherever working-class students are enrolled in large numbers. The instrumental function becomes even more predominant in the case of students from disadvantaged backgrounds, especially if they have a subculture of their own.

Of course important expressive elements are included in liberal arts education, but for most students such education is much more instrumental than is often implied. The future society may give less weight to technological and economic considerations and be more concerned with the quality of life--culture, community relations, and leisure. It will not in any event be a society in which most citizens live like Chinese mandarins--in which those with chiefly a generalist, humanist education will be rewarded to the same extent as those also able to program a computer, run the accounts, or practice law.

Some advocates of black studies programs stress that their aim is not only to train lawyers, doctors, and other service professionals, but also to foster an intense commitment to practice one's vocation so that it is meaningful and helpful to the members of one's community. Even if the desirability of such an orientation is accepted, the community commitment still must be additional to, and cannot replace, instrumental competence. (How such preparation can best be provided and kept relevant to the community's needs is discussed below.) And even if a society were sought in which instrumental training were unnecessary or irrelevant, sociologically it is unlikely to come to pass. Thus, to prepare a subpopulation of college students only or primarily in noninstrumental ways would be to undermine their positions in the society in which they will live. And to neglect the provisions of bridging education would effectively perpetuate the disadvantages that created the need for such education in the first place.

Instrumental qualifications by themselves will make a difference, but society will not suddenly begin to reward people only for merit. It may be expected that increased attention will be paid to merit and, therefore, training more people from disadvantaged backgrounds will strengthen the movement in this direction.

The Correcting of Perspective

Advocacy of instrumental preparation in no way argues against the creation of black studies programs; rather, it provides a basis for assessing various conceptions of such programs. We hold as our central tenet that students from disadvantaged backgrounds need instrumental bridging education, if only in such areas as syntax and grammar* and mathematics, to do well instrumentally in the society. Many programs have attempted to provide bridging education--pre-college summer classes, additional remedial classes during the semester, counseling, tutorials, and so on--and have encountered problems. As studies of Head Start (and the Coleman Report) indicate in a different context, it is not yet clear that effective techniques and formats for bridging education have been found; some programs are too regimented, and others help to instill stigma rather than overcome it. Nevertheless, redesigning, strengthening, and expanding these programs must be prime goals of any attempt to provide effective and meaningful education for students from disadvantaged backgrounds.

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*It has been argued that "ghetto English" is not "bad" English but rather an argot with a vitality and tradition of its own, and that to attack it simply as "bad" English is to sustain the image of the Negro as inferior. But if people who have grown up using a different version of the language are forced to speak only "the King's" English, they may become unable to express themselves spontaneously. It may well be important to permit the use of specialized argots in intimate social relations and teach the "other" English in effect as a second language, to be used in instrumental interactions.

Although most members of the black studies movement disregard bridging education, they do focus on the expressive needs of black students. Advocates of black studies suggest, if we summarize their statements, that: (1) corrected perspective toward self and society is essential for instrumental achievement; (2) a corrected perspective toward self and society is meaningful as an end in itself; and (3) black studies are the way to make such a correction. The validity of these positions depends to a large extent on how they are advanced. To take the first statement first, the findings and analyses of social scientists overwhelmingly support the statement that building self-confidence--overcoming an image of self as inferior, backward, or incompetent--is prerequisite to the successful development of instrumental skills. Such a correction of perspective and the education it entails do not substitute for instrumental training; both kinds of education are necessary. Since most Negroes will seek a place in American society with varying degrees of satisfaction and success, they must become prepared to live in it. Designing an education based on the assumption that they will choose to retreat from the American society seems unsupported by existing evidence and indications.

Moreover, expressive and instrumental education tend to enhance each other. For instance, just as a person who defines himself as a failure will do less well on an examination than someone with self-confidence, so will a person who does well on several examinations become less likely to maintain a self-view of failure. And while one needs to be proud rather than ashamed of his heritage, it is also important for black students to be able to point to a large number of success models, like black scientists, pilots, heads of Federal agencies, and so on.

For those already committed to the view that social groups must advance on both "legs," it may be difficult to conceive of an approach that focuses on expressive (or "psychic," or symbolic) efforts. Actually, such an approach has many roots and followers. Thus, in Maoist China there is a strong element of anti-technology, propsychism.* The designing of the war against poverty in 1964-65 placed considerable emphasis on organizing and educating for community action rather than on providing jobs, houses, and income. In part, a budget squeeze necessitated an economical program (community action costs much less); in part, political theory suggested that community action would provide the power base required to advance other goals. In part, though, a social psychological theory, an "Americanization of Fanon," suggested that correcting Negroes' perspectives on self and

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*Lifton puts it thus: "The methods of the Great Leap Forward, to be sure, had a compelling external logic: putting into use the human labor with which rural China abounds as a substitute for the large machinery she lacks, and thereby creating both national and local self-sufficiency, or as the official slogan has it, 'walking with two legs.' But it turned out that the 'legs' were largely psychic, and while psychic legs are of the greatest importance, they cannot substitute for either bodily or technological ones--especially in the making of steel." Robert J. Lifton, Revolutionary Immortality (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1968), p. 103.

and society would provide the necessary leverage for changing self and society, and community action was to change the perspective.

Just as the development of China (or any other nation) needs commitment and technology, the American poor need autonomy and jobs, and, similarly, black students need expressive education and instrumental training, both because each is an end in itself and because each supports the other.

Some may hold that emphasis on instrumental training implies that black people must become black white men, working at meaningless jobs in bureaucratic posts or on the assembly line and subscribing to the consumer fetishism of suburban society. The reason lies elsewhere. The jobs available to the untrained or poorly trained are much tighter than those for the skilled and professional; one realistic way to be freer in our present and near-future society is to be instrumentally qualified. Nor is there any reason to suppose that a well-trained person would therefore be ashamed of his background, subculture, and community. Or that such a person would not limit his work and consumption so as to leave time and energy for cultural activities, public action, and reflection.

Thus the discussion comes to the question of the most effective sociological context for both the correction of perspective and instrumental training. So far as expressive education is concerned, the earlier the correct orientation is presented, the less damage will be produced in the first place. When correction is needed, however, the earlier it is introduced, the more effective and less painful it will be. Hence, some ethnic studies should be introduced into the high schools and even primary schools and become a standard part of the curriculum. Schools whose students are largely from disadvantaged backgrounds might devote more time to ethnic studies, while largely middleclass white schools might include this topic in classes on American history or society. (Or perhaps the same curriculum could be used throughout the educational system, with adjustments for class and ethnic variation.) The optimal situation would find the colleges needing only to "finish" a process that started much earlier. A major contribution to that end would be for teachers colleges and liberal arts colleges that train teachers to give increased attention to the preparation of teachers of and teaching materials for pre-college-level ethnic studies.

Until such steps are taken, undergraduate colleges* will have to provide this expressive education for their students. Such education can take various forms, ranging from inclusion in general liberal arts courses (such as Columbia College's Contemporary Civilization and the University of Chicago's program) to a major segment of courses on American society, to specialized courses for students interested in pursuing study in greater depth.

The need is for ethnic studies rather than solely black studies, because Spanish-Americans, Japanese-Americans, and other ethnic groups have needs similar to those of black students. Again, lower-class WASPs have some parallel needs as well, especially for bridging education, and other minorities--Jewish, Irish--may increasingly demand resources as ethnic studies come to take their place in the curriculum. It is neither practical nor desirable that all kinds of ethnic studies be provided in one set of courses, program, department, or college; the point is that the needs are broader than offerings only to black students. A general increase in such programs would, however, certainly be in accord with the American tradition of pluralism.

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*On graduate studies, see below.

To protect the institutions, which are already under great financial and manpower pressures, three principles should be applied in the development of ethnic studies: priority should be given (1) to those areas of study that as yet have no ethnic program, and (2) to disadvantaged groups. (3) Resources should be allocated to any ethnic program roughly in accord with the "demand" for it on the part of students and faculty.

To return to the functions of ethnic studies, they will at best provide the cognitive bases for the needed correction of perspective. For example, a course in black history which studies precolonial Africa and the civil rights movement cannot alone be expected to have major psychodynamic consequences. Rather, such consequences might be achieved by such means as a whole program of black studies for undergraduates, black teachers teaching instrumental subjects to black classes, and segregated social groupings--"colleges" within the white university.

To assess these suggestions, we seek to apply two sociological principles--the limits of pluralism, and the dynamics of group integration.

The Limits of Pluralism

The often-used dichotomy between an integrated society and one in which two groups live almost completely separated from each other (a dichotomy which prevails in the discussion of this area*) does not exhaust the possibilities. On the contrary, most modern societies are pluralistic on some levels and universalistic on others. Some differentiations among groups are highly intolerable; others are less so; and still others are not only acceptable but even valuable for the society as a whole and each of its members. Without embarking here on a general theory of society, a few highly schematic points do have direct bearing on the issues at hand.

1. Societal differentiations are the more intolerable as their magnitude becomes greater and if the cleavage is expanding. The differences among the races in the United States on these dimensions are smaller than in many Latin countries and seem to be shrinking, although rather slowly.

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*See, for example, a lengthy report of Bayard Rustin's views by Thomas S. Brooks. "A Strategist without a Movement," New York Times Magazine, Feb. 16, 1969; Robert S. Browne, "The Case for Two Americas--One Black, One White," New York Times Magazine, Aug. 11, 1968; Nathan Hare, "The Case for Separatism: Black Perspective," Newsweek, Feb. 10, 1969; Roy Wilkins, "The Case against Separatism: Black Jim Crow," Newsweek, Feb. 10, 1969.

2. Differentiations are the more intolerable as the extent to which they are encompassing becomes greater; that is, a low position in one sector (economic, for example) supports similar positions in others (political power, education). Broad-scope, parallel differentiations render difficult both the correction of a disadvantage in one area by additional achievement in others and the blurring of group lines. Pluralism then tends to become unlimited, all-encompassing, and dangerous, and the society is divided into sharply drawn, self-conscious camps.

3. The specific sectors into which the differentiation among groups of members has penetrated are significant here. There are roughly four such areas, which will be discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

Cultural pluralism is enriching rather than damaging to the societal fabric. Progress in this area is achieved by recognizing many alternatives as legitimate and of equal status rather than by seeking to homogenize or impose one set of cultural norms. Thus, for instance, both black and Nordic types of beauty can be recognized without inflicting psychic deprivations on either group. Robert S. Browne gives the following example, which is a good analogue for many others:

> Millions of black parents have been confronted with the poignant agony of raising black, kinky-haired children in a society where the standard of beauty is a milk-white skin and long, straight hair. To convince a black child that she is beautiful when every channel of value formation in the society is telling her the opposite is a heart-rending and well-nigh impossible task. /And he continues:7 . . . In the American ethos a black man is not only "different," he is classed as ugly and inferior.*

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*New York Times Magazine, Aug. 11, 1968.

This situation can be countered by claiming that the opposite holds, that black is beautiful while white is ugly. But such an approach is not the only alternative. It can be argued even more cogently that a rich society, rich in spirit, sees beauty in a large variety of different styles, colors, foods, and so on. Thus, it does not follow that complete segregation is needed to solve this and similar problems.

A measure of social pluralism is inevitable. There is no nation, no community, in which people do not interact selectively in their interpersonal and social circles. In this area of social process, public authorities can provide little positive guidance, although legal, economic, and other barriers to free social interaction can be removed. And as we see it, a measure of voluntary social differentiation is much less damaging *per se* than assimilation-integration theory suggests. So long as free interaction is provided in other sectors, voluntary differentiation among friends and mates is not a serious threat to a society in which subcommunities live together peacefully and with mutual respect. Actually, during the transition from our separate and unequal to a pluralistic-integrated society, some differentiation of social circles may be needed as a source of emotional security (this point is discussed below).

Economic differentiations are far more dangerous than informal social ones, especially when they have accumulated for many decades, are based on ascription rather than achievement, and the prerequisites for achievement are concentrated in the hands of select groups. Here it is necessary both to remove the barriers based on ascriptive attributes and, to the extent that the assets needed for achievement have been accumulated, to provide the disadvantaged with extra resources to help them catch up to equality of opportunities, a process we call "universalization."*

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*. . . in an address to the board /College Entrance Examination Board/, Harold Howe II, the U.S. Commissioner of Education, observed that a new doctrine had been established in elementary and secondary education with the premise that 'equal educational opportunity does not result from treating all pupils equally.'

"'Now it is time,' he said, 'to ask what the colleges have done, and what they propose to do, in order to reflect this new philosophy in higher education.'

"The Commissioner urged colleges to 'read the disadvantaged background into college entrance examination scores before making decisions on admissions.' He also suggested that colleges might add 'a whole year of pre-college compensatory work' to their regular curriculums" (Chronicle of Higher Education, Nov. 8, 1967, p.1).

Finally, there is a hard core of ultimate values, national symbols, universal rules, and monopolization of the legitimate use of force which constitutes the limits of pluralism, the universal societal bonds which tie the member groups into one supra-unit or society. When differentiation significantly penetrates into this area, the society will tend toward disbanding. Such a situation led to our and other nations' civil wars.

An individual or a group may be committed to particular values which it views as having priority over membership in the nation; it may even seek to secede and form a new state in Africa or the Deep South--or the ghettos of our cities. But it is an empirical observation that such a secessionist group can hardly expect the support of the society it seeks to divide or leave. On the contrary, sharp retaliatory measures are to be expected as secessionist activities challenge the most deeply held commitments of many other citizens. It also follows that those who seek cultural and social autonomy and economic universalization weaken their positions considerably when they use the language of nationhood. Their posture of seeking, not the legitimate societal goals of subculture, equality of opportunity, and improvement of the quality of life through a transformation of the society's structure, but rather the severing of the universal societal bonds to form their own nation simply alienates most members.

This view of society as much more able to accommodate pluralism on some levels than on others, as in effect welcoming separation in some areas and insisting on integration in others, has two major levels of implication for the assessment of black studies. It has consequences for the view of the society for which students are educated, and for the view of the campus which--like a micro-society--has its own pluralisms and universal bonds. Three of the implications are illustrated here.

First, the teaching of black studies as a negation of America, a rejection of its basic values, and a legitimation of symbols which run counter to those of many members ("all white men are devils") is secessionist.* The "positive" teaching of black studies--as advancing black values, as adding a major component to American pluralism and thus making it less constrictive--is in accord with the pluralistic-integration model.

The demand that all students be exposed to the same curriculum is assimilationist; the demand that any group of students be given a totally separate program of studies is secessionist. The provision of black studies with the requirement that those who "major" in them also take some courses to ensure their familiarity with the general bases of American civilization is in line with pluralistic integration.

It is easy to offer psychological and sociological explanations for the extremist positions taken by some leaders of the black studies movement. But this discussion is concerned more with the consequences of various positions than in their motivational and experiential bases. Pluralistic programs are those which aim at the limitation of interracial conflicts, the recognition of shared values and rules on the campus and in the society at large. It is hoped that the total rejection of the white world and the demand for total autonomy are only transitory stages, a step on the road from being oppressed and suppressed to that of membership in the society as a semi-autonomous community, proud of its own positive values.

Second, a group's orientation to national symbols (such as the Constitution and the flag) and core values (for example, the value of

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*We use the term "secessionist" rather than "separatist" because, although all forms of secessionism by definition challenge the unifying bonds and core values of the society, there are many forms of separatism that do not have these consequences, and could in our view be considered pluralist rather than assimilationist integration.

the individual) is a key indicator of its position on this general issue. Secessionist are those programs, classes, and other activities that encourage black Americans to reject summarily such values. Assimilationists demand homogeneity of commitment. Pluralist integrationists acknowledge that these values and symbols are now more accessible to some Americans than others but, rather than rejecting their universal validity, draw on strengthening the commitment to those values to further legitimate the demand that all Americans be accorded equal access. Thus, the critical orientation is not dampened by stating that we believe in the Bill of Rights and The Constitution; our critical orientation is aimed, first of all, at the existing societal institutions.

Some of the core values themselves may be challenged, for instance, the excessive emphasis on individual opportunity and material affluence. Such a challenge is in accord with membership in a society as long as it is sought for all members and not only for one subcommunity.

Browne presents a case for "two Americas--one black, one white." But typical to most, though not all, of these statements, he really seeks an equal and legitimate subcommunity status rather than a separatist state or society.

> The separatist would argue that the Negro's foremost grievance cannot be solved by giving him access to more gadgets--although this is certainly a part of the solution--but that his greatest need is of the spirit, that he must have an opportunity to reclaim his group individulaity and have that individuality recognized as equal with other major cultural groups in the world.*

We see no sociological reason that "a *complete* divorce of the two races" is necessary.

Third, the campus, like the society, has some universal rules which are morally and judicially binding on all members. The assimilationist sees no particular reason to exempt black studies from the universal rules implied in the concept of academic freedom, for example, the protection of teachers from being fired because of their views. The secessionist seeks an autonomous black program, even college, in which commitments to black values are the criteria for hiring, firing, and so on. Here is not only a demand for blacks to control programs in which blacks are studying but also to select the "correct" kind of blacks.* This approach cannot be tolerated by a university if it is to survive as a free institution. The pluralist would say that if these rules have a discriminatory effect, they would be altered for all students, but such an effect cannot serve to justify special dispensations for any subgroup.*

**New York Times Magazine*, Aug. 11, 1968.

*James E. Cheek, a Negro, referred to "reverse racism" in this context (*Chronicle of Higher Education*, May 6, 1968).

*For the same reason it is not practical to develop a "universal curriculum" (i.e., without a distinct motif), by choosing

One can modify the American dominant themes to be more "liberal," and add black and other sub-cultural components but not make education trans-national, unless one seeks to provoke an all-out confrontation by cutting into the normative base of society.

Rather different in terms of the acts advocated but quite similar in consequences are the legitimization of anger, hate and violence as a therapeutic technique. As this "therapy" is often advocated in the name of the late Algerian psychiatristic Frank Fanon,[*] we refer to it as "Fanonization."[**] The theory suggests that a person who has been oppressed cannot get rid of the inhibitions oppression instilled in him unless he learns to be angry, hate or hit his oppressor. The Youth Corps, up to August 1969, used in New York City a black studies kit aimed, according to Nancy Mamis, consultant for the program, to stir anger, "as a tool for constructive change."

The validity of the psychological theory of "Fanonization" is far from established. Possibly, under carefully controlled treat-

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the "best" from all cultures, as F. Champion Ward suggested in his "Marco Polo to Everyman" Ventures, Vol. VII (1967), p. 22.

[*] The Wretched of the Earth. (New York: Grove Press, 1965).

[**] For a discussion of the tactic in a university situation, see Amitai Etzioni, "The Confessions of a Professor Caught in a Revolution," New York Times Magazine, September 15, 1968.

ment situations, stirring up anger in a patient will help him overcome inhibitions. The controlled situation is necessary because otherwise anger, especially when it leads to violence, is likely to generate counter-anger and violence, leading either to a "backlash," a fight, or both. In any event, as society's survival is dependent on its members learning to work out their conflicts with each other without resorting to violence (even if quite frequently they do, they must have a guilty conscience about it, so as not to increase the level of violence to a degree where the societal fabric will be destroyed) a program which legitimates anger and violence _a priori_, cannot but expect to arouse wide spread condemnation and oppression even from among many of those otherwise supportive to the black community and its goals.

A report from a Panthers' school illustrates that personal activation for change can be achieved without stirring anger:

> "'What is the main thing we want to get rid of?' shouted the young man.
> 'Pigs,' answered a chorus of voices.
> 'And how we gonna do it?' the young man asked.
> 'Kill him,' said one small voice.
> The young man remained silent.
> 'Leave him like he is,' said another.
> The young man continued to remain silent.
> 'Put the right thinking in him,' said another small voice.
> 'Right on,' replied the young man.
> 'Right on,' replied the chorus of young voices."*

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*_New York Times_, August 18, 1969.

Dynamics of Group Integration

The preceding analysis also suggests that informal selection of blacks into segregated friendships, lunch groups, and courting is to be expected to be common, especially when class differences are added to racial ones, as when lower-class black students join a middle-class white campus.* The campus, like the society, is not a large small-group, in which the basis of cohesion and solidarity is a close personal relationship among each and every member. On the contrary, a limited amount of interpersonal and group separation, so long as it is voluntary, may be quite useful to integration on the next level--the classrooms--and fuller integration later, once the educational, psychological, and economic differences between the racial groups have been reduced.

Intimate social groups are usually formed among persons very similar in many attributes; even among whites, homogeneity tends to prevail. This iron law of sociology can hardly be expected not to apply to black-white relations. We do expect some interracial intimate groups, but they will be much less common than intraracial groups at this stage.

Separate intimate relations provide a sociological foundation for the emotional security that is generally needed for student life, a life that is quite tension-provoking in our achievement-oriented society and especially so for persons from disadvantaged backgrounds who have more ground to cover.* The black studies movement can be viewed as an attempt to meet the need for emotional security, and the more such security is provided in social circles, the less the likelihood that pressures for less demanding curricula or separate classrooms or "colleges" will be brought to bear. Similarly, the more that effective bridging education is provided, the less threatening the regular classroom will appear.

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*For a report from Cornell on this point, see Ernest Dunbar, "The Black Studies Thing," New York Times Magazine, April 6, 1969.

Last but not least, the separate black social group, under indigenous (rather than appointed) black leaders and in the framework of Afro-American or black centers, provides the most powerful vehicle for the correction of the perspectives of black students and for integration on the next level and in the next phase. Psychodynamics suggests that individual who are isolated from their natural groups and removed from their leaders tend to rigidify their positions. Conversely, if the group's perspectives change, especially if the change is guided by the group's own leadership, the individual members find the necessary emotional support to "let go" of their old positions and make the transition to new ones. This transitional phase is alwyas problematic in that once the old perspective is "unlocked," it may be changed not in a constructive direction but rather toward a new distortion. Without group changes, however, deep changes are unlikely to occur.

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*At Northwestern University, "Negroes, particularly those from the inner city, had long tended to stick together socially." (Chronicle of Higher Education, May 20, 1968, p. 4).

It also follows that these intimate social groups are best able to provide the noncognitive elements of the needed transformation. If the university provides the buildings for such efforts or salaries for the instructors (as it does for other extracurricular activities), whether it grants no credit or some credit for these extracurricular activities--these are secondary matters that can probably be best decided on the basis of local circumstances. The main point is keeping the classroom devoted mainly to cognitive work and as an integrated student society, while the more expressive work is carried out in the black social groups.

The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare recently challenged the setting-up of black dormitories and threatened the withdrawal of Federal funds from colleges which allowed their buildings to be used in such a way. Yet, first, there are many ways in which a separate black social life can flourish--black social centers, a free choice of roommates, even separate subfloors--other than making race a basis for admission to a building. Second, HEW will have to re-examine its guidelines to see if they are based on assimilationist or pluralistic integrationist assumptions. Pluralism is in accord with the core values of the American traditional society as well as sociologically viable. Assimilation, which occasionally is implied in the liberal civil rights tradition, seems to have some of the normative and sociological connotations black separatists excoriate.

It follows that the shortest route toward a genuinely pluralistic, integrated society may be one which entails a step which may seem backward to the assimilationist integrationist. Namely, in accordance with the universal rules of academia (which may themselves be transformed for all students), black social centers may be created in addition to other existing ethnic ones. And within the limits of universal shared core values, a plurality of subcultures may be more fully legitimated and supported.

The sociological considerations just outlined draw lines which differ from those marked by existing laws. The laws have been interpreted as being equally violated by three kinds of activities: separate social activities space; and separate colleges, schools or institutes. Mrs. Roby G. Martin, Director, Office for Civil Rights, in the Office of the Secretary of HEW, wrote in March 1969 to presidents of institutions of higher education which receive federal aid and warned them that such actions are in violation of the requirements of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Other communications, different in detail but similar in orientation, preceded and followed this particular one.*

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*See, for instance, letter by Solomon Arbeiter, Higher Education Coordinator, Office for Civil Rights, Office of the Secretary, HEW, to Mr. Richard L. Cox, Acting Dean of Men, Duke University. Dated May 22, 1969.

The communications seem to convey a greater sensitivity for segregation by blacks than by whites, and to view in the same light both the provision of facilities which allow for informal voluntary self-segregation in the social expressive realm, and--the segregation of instrumental educational facilities, such as classrooms and laboratories. We have no expertise in the writing and interpretation of laws, but if a line could be drawn which would be more tolerant of the first kind of activities and less of the second, that would seem beneficial from the view point of the issues at hand.

Toward Black Studies

So far, we have deliberately focused our discussion on bridging education, undergraduate black studies, and social centers. Graduate programs and research specialization in black studies should be fully supported as well. There is already a significant body of scholarship in this area.* There is no need to be a purist here. Perhaps some subareas within the realm of black studies are not as rich in volumes as is, let us say, Shakespearean literature, but many other areas are not better endowed than black studies and quite a few are less so. Moreover, scholarship flourishes when scholars are available, which requires "chairs," funds, libraries, museums, and so on--resources which until recently were very scarce for black studies.

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*See, for example, Arnold M. Rose, "Graduate Training for the Culturally Deprived," Sociology of Education, Spring 1966, pp. 201-8.

As noted earlier, not every college ought to provide the same set of courses and programs of undergraduate _and_ graduate black studies; after all, many colleges have no graduate programs and some are much nearer to the ghettos than others. We must leave to a future publication the question of the ways in which different kinds of colleges may introduce different types of black studies.

The creation of graduate and undergraduate black (and other ethnic) studies will create many jobs for persons of disadvantaged backgrounds; it must, hence, also be viewed as a step toward eliminating inequality of higher education, in which there is an increase in students from disadvantaged backgrounds but very little commensurate increase in faculty and research staff. Institutions might thus both expect and welcome a whole subsystem with its own internal differentiation of quality, variation in form (for example, instrumental versus expressive emphasis), and so forth.

Ultimately though, black _studies_ (as distinct from social centers) will have a mainly cognitive and largely instrumental role; and the main task of introducing large numbers of students of disadvantaged backgrounds into the society and educating them to help transform it will be performed by bridging education and black social groups and not by exclusive curricula or challenging universal bases of the campus or society. A larger increase in admissions of students from underprivileged backgrounds, effective bridging education, ethnic studies, and ethnic social centers will make universities more responsive to the underprivileged parts of the society and to the majority of the students strongly committed to social justice. These reforms may well not satisfy everybody and should not be introduced in the hope of eliminating all tensions and conflict. But the preceding sociological criteria do suggest that such reforms do not undermine any basis of the society or the academic community and hence, may be regarded as not only responsive to legitimate needs but also in accord with a vital, self-reforming society.

PART II

THE RESPONSE OF AMERICAN COLLEGES TO THE UNDERPREPARED STUDENTS*

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*Like the preceding section, this is a "think piece." Statements about various programs are based on personal observations, informal visits, and published accounts but no specific studies.

The Response of American Colleges To the Underprepared Students

The higher education system in the United States, particularly since the development of the Land-Grant and community college concepts, has been considered a major factor in upward mobility. As the society has grown increasingly technological, college training has become an imperative in most sections of the economy. Yet it is obvious that America's most visible minorities have not benefited from higher education anywhere near their proportion of the population and are therefore excluded from a share of America's affluence.

In response to the pressure that colleges reflect more accurately the many cultural groups that exist in our pluralistic society, college administrators have looked primarily to their admissions policies.* Admissions rely heavily on comprehensive test scores and high school grades which together are assumed to reflect a student's ability to manipulate basic learning tools such as reading, writing, and mathematics; to measure his level of accumulated facts; and to evaluate his understanding of and appreciation for the dominant American culture. College admission offices have met the demand for a greater spectrum among their students by accepting students from underrepresented groups whose test scores and/or high school grades are below the ordinarily admissible standard. These are the underprepared students.

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*Financial support for minority students, underprepared or not, is an important factor in recruiting a pluralistic student body. This paper is solely concerned with academic programs.

A variety of supportive services or courses have generally accompanied the admission of the underprepared student. Such services deal with the rules administrators apply to students, with the attitudes and psychological problems of the student, with the various teaching devices available for self-tutoring, and with special courses or programs with high skills content. A review of programs attempted in American universities under these four classifications of administrative, psychological, technological, and compensatory programs will constitute the bulk of this report.

Even from this introductory comment, however, it is clear that these programs for the underprepared student merely adjust the present educational process here and there to respond to the pressures for creating a more heterogeneous student body. There have been few attempts at encompassing curriculum innovation which would speak specifically to the needs of the underprepared. Dr. Edward Crosby, Director of Education of the Experiment in Higher Education in East St. Louis, has emphasized that:

> . . . curriculum innovation is not synonymous with compensatory education as mirrored by the usual collection of college preparatory courses, special education as mirrored by the usual collection of college preparatory courses, special educational remediation programs, or anything similar in concept, for many of the regular courses required of freshman and sophomores are remedial in the sense that the information covered should have been acquired in high school.

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*"New Directions for Educating the Disadvantaged," paper read at the Conference on Higher Education for Disadvantaged Youth, Washington, D.C., March 14, 1968.

Ethnic studies aimed at minority militants, prepared or not, tend to substitute one set of views for another but seldom to innovate either in terms of techniques or of method. Militancy, after all, is a frequently middle class luxury and most underprepared students are marginally lower middle class. Even the minority militants, by and large, seem to be asking for their share of the structure, not for a new architect. Ethnic courses as a specific device to help the underprepared have only limited usefulness. Rather a majority of the underprepared seem to wish to "play it safe," they seek education as a passport for an upward trip to higher status and better jobs. They are suspicious of new curriculum because they perceive it as second class or as experimental; they do not wish to be guinea pigs.

Twin Paradoxes

The underprepared student is being admitted in significant numbers to colleges at a time when many white middle class students are demanding reform. A few minority members, fearing seduction by the white world, demand some change but seldom attack the system as most radical students do. The overwhelming majority of the underprepared seek upward mobility within the system and, as converts unsure of the faith, tend to represent the more conservative attitudes within the student body. The imitating of the dominant customs and mores is typical of rising social groups, whether they are Sanskritized castes in India or the Black Bourgeoisie in the United States.* The first paradox of the underprepared college student is that he wants the very education present white campus radicals--claiming to be his allies--are rejecting.

The underprepared student in this desire has a clear sense of reality. The primary ingredients of a successful education are dexterity at basic skills of communication and socialization into the dominant culture. Christopher Jencks hits at intellectual pretensions by noting that:

> there is little evidence that academic competence is critically important to adults in most walks of life . . . The teachers. . . are probably right in feeling that what their children need first and foremost is not academic skill but such "middle class" virtues as self-discipline and self-respect.*

Such has been the message of the Negro colleges and of the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools.* Confusion now arises in the interpretation of "self-respect." How can a person be socialized into a society that rejects him? Again it must be emphasized, however, that only those who have tried and found the system wanting begin to question it; those still moving upward have a clear perception of the next step. Hence one would expect that the more we draw into the system of higher education students from the lower reaches of the under class, which are by far larger than the upper ones, the less prepared and more threatened by conventional modes of study the student body will be.

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*For a more complete statement of this theme see my "Nationalism in a Plural Society: The Case of the American South," Western Political Quarterly, March 1966.

*"A Reappraisal of the Most Controversial Educational Document of Our Times." New York Times Magazine, August 10, 1969.

Most underprepared students have already survived twelve or thirteen years in a middle class education system and have acclimatized themselves to a pattern of study and learning. They perceive that the safest trail upwards would include more of the same type of education. Here is the second paradox. The underprepared student feels more secure with a traditional system even though it has not prepared him for college and has not even met the educational needs of the majority of the school population.

In discussing the underprepared college student it is essential to stress the type of student who survives the school system. The severely disadvantaged do not. For such a child school

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*Blatant examples of this attitude are contained in Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man, (New American Library, 1953), and Victor Barnouw, Dream of the Blue Heron, (Yearling Books, Dell Publishing Company, 1969).

> "is not a place where opportunities for development abound, but a place where experiences of failure are accumulated and compulsory involvement with irrelevant activity, as he perceives it, is enforced."*

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*Daniel C. Jordan, "Education and the War on Poverty," The Teachers College Journal, Indiana State University, January 1969, p. 137.

The student who does not, or cannot, at least ape the middle class culture of the school system simply drops out. The cultural aspect of the school system is therefore more crucial than it is at the college level where the student is asking to become acculturated into the elite. It is for this acculturation that he is underprepared.

There is much argument that the underprepared student is underprepared only in terms of test scores which are made on culturally biased tests, or in terms of communication in the foreign language of standard English or in the accumulation of facts about the dominant white culture, the validity of which they may question.* Whatever the culture and skills a student may bring to the education system, there is no question that if the system does not prepare him to compete successfully in the dominant society, then the system is inadequate.* For years the underprepared did not make it to college precisely because they were underprepared. Today they are going to college still underprepared, particularly in skills. They want and expect college to resemble high school; they assume that the skills courses will simply be more of the same until by sheer repetition the skill arrives. Most colleges have responded with remedial courses which in fact replicate high school courses and all their weaknesses. Thus, most students seem to want the courses that have failed them.

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*For criticism of tests see John Egerton, Higher Education for "High Risk" Students, Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia, 1968, pp. 50-51; on student dialect "The Preparatory English Program at Wilberforce University," mimeo, February 1968.

Programs for the underprepared must face these twin paradoxes. The underprepared uses his high school experience as a guide and therefore wants traditional education even though this education has proved inadequate to prepare him for college and has contributed to a high drop out rate of his fellow students. In college the student wants a series of courses leading to improved job opportunity in a middle class society.

Assessing the clientele

In the face of these paradoxes the role of the curriculum innovator is more circumscribed when developing courses for the underprepared minority student than it is for the students from the white

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*Lou La Brant, in "The Goals for Culturally Different Youth," Improving English Skills of Culturally Different Youth, HEW, 1964 insists that "goals for the culturally different must be the same as for the larger group," (p. 23) although emphasis is placed on the various routes of achieving this end.

middle class. The fact that the innovating educator himself is generally a product of the dominant culture leads to widespread misapplication of innovative programs which may be applicable and exciting for middle class white students but are generally inappropriate for the underprepared minority clientele. Independent study, relaxed distribution requirements, flexible scheduling, ungraded or pass-fail grading systems are among the new approaches to higher education being given widespread trial throughout the country.*

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*Two publications reviewing such programs are Change, Science and University Affairs, NYC which began this year and "Innovation and Innovative Programs" printed by the president's office at the University of South Carolina. See especially No. 11, Feb. 1969 and No. 13, April 1969.

Attempts to try such innovation at the new Federal City College led to rejection by the students and by the majority of the black faculty. Black faculty, themselves frequently the product of an inadequate education system, also tend to cling to tried answers, however insufficient. Upgrading of their own education systems by the Negro colleges whose students are often predominantly underprepared is a problem outside the scope of this report.* However, it is the tendency of Negro educators in such schools as Howard University or Morgan State College to reject innovation just as it is the tendency of white innovators to reject traditional curriculum. More flexibility and a more careful tailoring of the programs to the clientele is clearly necessary.

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*See the report on Negro colleges by David Reisman and Christopher Jencks in the Harvard Educational Review, Fall 1966, and Paul Clancy "The Fight for Quality on Two Negro Campuses," Reporter, July 13, 1967.

The Institute for Services to Education (ISE) has been working with thirteen Southern Negro colleges to improve the quality of their freshman year. Recognizing that skill in communication of ideas was perhaps the most important target for the freshman year ISE has investigated alternate approaches to remedial English and freshman composition. Their technique is to involve teachers with many years of experience along with newly graduated teachers in curriculum debates with educational innovators.

Increasingly such innovators are stressing alternatives to the teaching of communication solely through linear learning. High school drop outs are being "turned on" through movie photography at the New Thing Flic Company in Washington, D.C., and elsewhere; tape recorders, gaming, simulation drama, dance, all are alternative forms of teaching communication rather than relying solely on the reading of English literature and the writing of essays. Content of the ideas communicated which relate to the culture of the minority aids the learning of communication skills. But overindulgence in new content or new teaching techniques brings quickly the student accusation of "second-class" teaching.

Programs successful in one college may not be in another. Sometimes this has to do with the ability of the teacher but more often it is related to the cultural background of the student and of the teacher. Assessment of any program for the underprepared must include some detail on the clientele which may benefit and on the educators who might be able to conduct the program.

In sum, we have noted that the underprepared student is termed underprepared because of his low test scores, his diffiuclty with communication skills and mathematics, and his limited accumulation of facts concerning a culture which is not indigenous to him but to which he aspires. The student is a product of a white middle class education system which stresses acculturation and gives short shift to those unwilling at least to play along with the attitudes and mores of the dominant culture. The underprepared college student, by virtue of receiving his high school diploma, has learned to manipulate the system to a degree: he is not the ghetto dropout. Such a student, with middle class apirations and a middle class education, is uncomfortable with unstructured innovation. Yet curriculum reform in the teaching of skills in particular must take place if the percentage of those who will survive college is to increase. Such reform must be based upon the needs and attitudes of the clientele; they must not be dreams that the middle class innovator would have liked for himself.*

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*Two valuable publications on various college programs dealing with the underprepared are The Disadvantaged Student, (Middle State Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, New York, November 1968), and John Egerton, Higher Education for "High Risk" Students, (Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia, April 1968).

Increasingly there is a call for new types of higher education. As public and private colleges tend to become more and more alike there is an attempt in some states, notably California and New York, to emphasize community colleges.* But the underprepared student with middle class aspirations seems to feel that education must be academic or nothing.* Here, then, is the real challenge of the underprepared student: new institutions of higher education that are academic and practical, traditional and innovative, and above all relevant. The underprepared students do not wish to see the education system destroyed but improved. At this level they are talking of future possibilities which reflect the demands of radical college students and faculty in the present university crisis. The pressures to broaden the spectrum of students may produce a more meaningful curriculum reform than the nihilistic tactics of the campus radicals.

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*Dorothy Knoell's *Toward Educational Opportunity for All*, SUNY, Albany, 1966 and the Master Plan of the Board of Higher Education for the City University of New York, 1968 discuss the New York system and its plans; for a discussion of California's system see Charles Nelson, "Quantity and Quality in Higher Education," *Higher Education and Modern Democracy*, Robert Goldwin, (ed.), (Rand McNally, New York, 1965), pp. 155-85.

*Joseph Featherstone, "Storefront Schools in Harlem," *New Republic*, September 7, 1968, p. 25.

Supportive Programs for the Underprepared

Programs for the disadvantaged student are proliferating; many of these involve active recruitment of minority students and the extension of financial aid to such students. They are not necessarily underprepared. Indeed in at least two instances difficulties arose when the prepared but black students were classified with the underprepared black students. Almost by definition, the prepared black or other minority student is sufficiently middle class to negotiate a middle class college.

We are concerned here with the programs for the underprepared student. Such a student will generally be from a minority since the reason for relaxation of usual admission standards is to produce a more heterogeneous student body. Many colleges do little beyond relaxing admissions requirements. Occasionally the student is not ever aware that he received special treatment. Recently much interest has centered around compensatory programs despite conclusions by many educators that such programs have failed.* Following is a more detailed review of these programs, what they attempt, for whom, and a tentative assessment of their success.

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*For example, Arthur R. Jensen, "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" _Harvard Educational Review_, Spring, 1969.

Administrative support

Many colleges now relax or change rules when applying them to the underprepared student. Minimum loads are reduced while a ceiling is often placed on the number of hours a student may attempt each term. Scholarships are continued even when a student is on probation. Unsatisfactory grades during the first year are often disregarded or expunged thus allowing the student a chance to achieve a reasonable grade point average. In a few colleges students can not be flunked out the first year of residence. Elsewhere, freshmen courses were given pass-no pass grades. At Antioch failed courses are repeated. This relaxation of rules tends to reduce the panic level of the underprepared student as he competes with better prepared peers. Students are told to expect to work five or even six years for a degree; financial aid is often continued as long as the student stays in college.

At Federal City College a pass, no pass, distinction grading system was rejected by a college-wide vote after one year and replaced with a letter-grade system. Where there is little competition among students the discipline of the grading system seemed a useful stimulus. Also the no-flunk rule allowed students to amass no-pass grades without penalty. Such permissiveness, rather than providing a bridge year for adjustment to college for the underprepared, tended to lower expectations and standards.

The rationale behind these administrative changes in the rules is the realization that students work at different speeds and that minority students in particular need time for adjustment. Since on the average one quarter of the freshman in most colleges leave before their sophomore year there is pressure to extend the relaxation of the rules to all students.

Some such administrative measures such as these help the student stay in college by not penalizing his lack of preparedness. But when they approximate the abolition of all standards, they suggest, in a way patronizing, that the student is not merely underprepared but incapable, and undermine the purposes of both college education and special concessions to the underprepared. It would seem preferable, then, that relaxation of rules be allowed only after consultation with a counselor or faculty advisor and be granted only to students who are striving earnestly to advance their education.

Psychological Support

Student counselling offices traditionally are meant to offer support to the students in terms of career goals, college programs, and emotional problems. Increasingly the counselling center provides tutors for students in academic difficulty and self-study centers referred to below. Beyond this, the underprepared student seems to need social skills such as the ability to relate to fellow students and to function in an alien environment.* Thus many colleges provide intensive counselling to the underprepared student. Fulton-Montgomery Community College puts its underprepared students into a group counseling situation while the Community College of Philadelphia requires students to take a freshman course in applied psychology. In San Jose Junior College students take courses in which the implications of testing are discussed; then each student evaluates his own test scores. Such programs help the student to explore his own goals and attitudes and arrive at a realistic self-assessment.

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*Knoell, Toward Educational Opportunity for All, p. 163.

One-to-one counselling runs into the danger of indoctrination. If the education system is culturally biased, then attempts by the counsellors to aid in adjustment to the dominant culture may become more a matter of conversion than counselling. Contrarily, efforts to have minority students counselled by minority members--especially when such counsellors are not professionals but volunteers from the Black Student Unions--may also verge on conversion, but lead to militancy. Exposure to both types of counsellors may be a solution.

Michigan State University at East Lansing has been admitting marginal students since 1963; in 1967 it dipped lower into score levels and took 64 students on the Detroit Project. Both programs require students to carry a light load of 12 credits. Volunteer tutors are provided, a function increasingly taken over by the Black Student Alliance. Personal advice by a white counsellor who saw an average of nine of these students a day (in 1969 there were 279 of these students on the campus of 30,000) seemed an important factor at this college. Even so, there is dissatisfaction with the results:

only 40% of the 1964 enrollees graduated in four years.

SUNY at Albany tried resident black counsellors when it admitted 160 black students in 1968. The major problem they are reported to have encountered was due to their lumping all blacks together rather than acknowledging the variations in preparation. As a result many of the underprepared students took heavier loads than they could handle because the summer tutors, mostly white, were reluctant to differentiate between the blacks. Further, many of these summer tutors tried to stimulate motivation and success by ignoring the lack of preparation and giving the underprepared student an inflated sense of his own ability.

The better prepared minority students at Albany resented being classed with the underprepared, especially since they were the first sizeable number of black students. In response to the frequent patronizing, many became accomplished "con artists;" according to the director of the program: "they pressed to see how far they could push the white establishment and their white roommates." The resident counsellors were thus thrust into highly tense situations and pressured to support the minority side. To reduce some of these pressures on the counsellors, they were withdrawn from the dormitories.

The Experiment in Higher Education in East St. Louis developed the role of the teacher-counsellor. The original group of ten teacher-counsellors, seven men and three women, were all products of the ghetto who had had some success in the outside world. All but one had attended college and six had graduated. Because they knew the ghetto, their main role was to translate "academic talk to street talk" and to provide a "success model." In this sense they were more like sympathetic young instructors than personal counsellors. During the first two years of the experiment their academic role, it is reported, became increasingly pronounced.

The use of minority graduate and even undergraduate students as tutors is widespread. Tutoring reinforces ideas already learned and builds up self-confidence. Indeed Jerrold Zacharias urges a much wider use of students as teachers.* One difficulty in this approach can be seen in the following development: Harpur College used its "open opportunity" sophomores as tutors for freshmen--and apparently the sophomores passed on to their tutees not only their knowledge but also their anxieties.

Minority students have seldom been totally accepted on white campuses. Especially for social functions they have tended to go off campus. As numbers of minority students increase at a college there is increasing demand for facilities on campus for such socializing. Psychologically a room or a floor for the meeting place of the Black Student Union is important. It would not seem to counter the aims of most colleges any more than do the provision of facilities to Hillel or the Newman Club.

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*"Learning By Teaching," an address delivered at the White House Conference on Education in Washington, D.C., July 21, 1965.

These psychological support services are significant to help a student adjust to an environment he finds alien whether as a minority student or as an academically insecure student, removed, as under class students are, from the prepared students and the middle class campus. Contact with a tutor or counselor who has "made it" and courses or sessions which encourage self-analysis seem useful to the psychological well-being of the student and might with profit be adapted to the entire student body. On the other hand, programs that institutionalize patronizing attitudes or counter-culture obviously have a debilitating effect.

Technological Support

Access to reading machines, tape recorders, and computer-assisted instruction may be an important supportive measure for the underprepared student. Skills centers run as reference libraries have been used both for pre-college assistance and for on-going college students. As an addition to the counseling and tutoring, technological assistance can help a motivated student fill in his learning gaps. Alone, machines are a weak support to the underprepared student. Separate Educational Skills Centers, such as SUNY/CUNY run,seem not to provide the motivation of actual college exposure.

If self-tutored programs appear to have limited usefulness for the insecure underprepared student, technological supplementary material seems more promising. For students with weak reading ability, alternative assignments on tape or film may be offered. Lectures and discussions can be taped and experiments programmed for rerunning.

Many colleges are experimenting with such technological support services for their regular students.* The underprepared might benefit doubly from imaginative use of media and programming. Multicultural examples of course subject matter could also have a psychological effect. Thus the study of Eskimos might be compared in film to problems of Indians or Mexican-Americans. The underprepared, specifically because he lacks linear learning skills, is likely to benefit immensely from other media.

Compensatory Programs

Compensatory services, whether special courses, special techniques, or special sessions are directed at the inadequate skills performance of the underprepared student. Questions to be asked are: (i) which skills are required? (ii) what level of these skills is sufficient? and (iii) how can this level be ascertained? Answers to these questions must consider the clientele for whom they are intended and the achievement level of the rest of the student body.

Whether the course is only for the underprepared or not is also relevant. Separating the underprepared from the student body in special courses may cause him to label himself as backward. If the findings of the Coleman Report concerning the importance of learning from the peer group are correct, then segregating the underprepared removes the stimulus created by the presence of the better prepared student. On the other hand, Los Angeles City College found that the non-achiever had a better chance of survival in special programs.*

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*See "Innovation and Innovative Programs," No. 12, March 1969, on programs at the University of Redlands.

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*"A Program of Developmental Studies" prepared by the faculties of the Los Angeles Junior Colleges, 1966-67. See also Nelson, Quantity, p. 167.

Besides discussing the type and level of the skill to be taught and looking at the implications of the separateness or integration of the course, the question of credit and its psychological impact must also be considered. These three points will be noted in reviewing several of the compensatory programs presently being held on American campuses. For ease of discussion these programs have been grouped as: remedial, pre-college intensive, or motivating.

1. Remedial: Remedial courses here are taken as being "make-up" courses which give the student material he should have had before admission to college. Mathematics and English are the most common remedial courses. They do not carry credit but must be taken before college level courses in these fields may be attempted.

Remedial courses have been common for years in large State universities and in Negro colleges. Both types of institutions have catered to the relatively underprepared; but as pressure for college entrance increases many of these colleges have simply raised admission standards and abolished remedial courses. Today only 5% of all students at Michigan State take the courses in prep math and prep English. Howard University recently abolished its remedial courses which one-third of the students were taking. While this decision was defended by raising entrance standards, its primary cause--we are informed-- was the failure of remedial English to compensate for lack of preparedness. Grades in remedial English seemed unrelated to grades in English 1 which was the next required course. The remedial courses were repetitious of high school courses in which the student had not done well. Students frequently demanded tests on parts of speech since they could handle such tests well. This ability is not closely related to their fluency of expression whether verbal or written, although the underprepared student seemed always decidedly better at verbal than written expression.*

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*Many students with English problems get "hung-up" on sentence structure. Read Herbert R. Kohl, Teaching the Unteachable, N.Y. Review of Books, 1967.

Experience seems to suggest to me that English remedial courses, in the sense of "make-up" courses, may have no place at a university. It appears preferable to leave the task to high schools or skills centers. It is insulting to most students to be admitted to a college and then see no difference in their courses from those they had in high school. It affects their attitude and self-image. Indeed, a reappraisal of self is a recognized aim in many junior colleges. Instructors and counselors often attempt to prepare the "latent terminal student" for a job he can in fact do but first slow down his progress with courses in sub-freshman English.*

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*Burton R. Clark, The Open Door College: A Case Study, University at Berkeley, Center for the Study of Higher Education, McGraw-Hill, 1960. See especially pp. 68-85 and 122-125.

High school courses in math are sometimes offered at colleges when such courses are not required for entrance. Here again it is to be questioned when imitative courses should be given in colleges. And, if the course in math is a new one and more theoretical in presentation, why should a student be denied credit? This debate on credit has been resolved as far as language is concerned. Students entering without a modern foreign language or wishing to change their language can receive credit for beginning language even though it may also be taught in high school. Should this reasoning not be applied to math?

Remedial courses, then, in the sense of the non-credit courses which simply repeat high school material, appear to be of little value, at least out of place in college. Students who have been conditioned by years of English to feel inadequate in the language are unlikely to respond differently when the same course is taught substantially the same way one more time. Different techniques and new approaches are so much more productive that repeating old courses is clearly disfunctional.

2. Pre-College: Two types of summer programs are in evidence: one is a "catch-up" summer of remedial non-credit courses; the other a "head start" program which allows intensive tutoring in regular freshman courses during the summer and light course loads throughout the first year.

The "catch-up" program has the same inherent problems as do the remedial courses discussed above; but the summer program seems to achieve better results. One reason is that such programs include courses specifically developed for the clientele and therefore are not simply a repetition of high school courses. Secondly, being in the summer, a faculty which is young and ambitious can be recruited on a short term basis. A faculty permanently assigned to remedial courses tends to consider itself second-class, which does not help to improve its teaching or the attitudes of its students.

There may also be a psychological element here. Catching up during the summer prepares the student to enter college as an equal. Further, while college entrance may be guaranteed to those completing the catch-up, most such programs do not admit the student to college until he has completed the entrance requirements. Thus, college is still a desirable goal. Northern Virginia utilizes technological devices to encourage self-pacing but requires a certain level of competency in skills before a student is admitted to the college programs. SUNY at Albany tried summer programs for two years in a row. With the truly "high-risk" student this apparently does not provide long enough a time to catch up. Thus, other SUNY campuses run longer programs. The Agricultural and Technical College at Delhi has a developmental program in reading, English, math, and science which students take for a minimum of one term and a maximum of a year. Fairleigh Dickinson University runs a Reading and Study Center which requires underprepared students to attend full-time for a full academic year. Such students are not matriculated students but there is an option for petitioning for some credit if they are subsequently admitted to the university. Rutgers program includes special courses in reading, writing and arithmetic /sic/. These are given both during the summer and during the academic year. Students will not be granted full college status until they meet the regular college requirements for admission.

Catch-up programs, then, are designed for underprepared students who show college promise but lack the requisites for normal admissions. The head-start programs are a typical response at the more exclusive colleges with relatively high admission standards. Such colleges drop admission standards slightly but require demonstrable academic potential. Such programs present regular freshmen courses so that the student starts out slowly and may take a reduced course load all year without losing his class standing. Such programs usually include counselling or "bull" sessions. These are designed for the minority student as often as for the underprepared: thus they focus as much on adjustment as on building up skills.

Wesleyan University set up such a head-start program which combined intensive English with counselling. This program coincided with the university's first attempt to recruit black students; seven attended the program. While the esprit established during the summer gave psychological support to the students through the winter, it also tended to emphasize their separateness. Two of the seven were superior students and they resented being asked to attend the summer session. This mistake was avoided in subsequent years. It is, however, a frequent error and should be guarded against. Separation on grounds of need is far more acceptable than required separation based on race. Black militants ask for voluntary separation but attack required separation.

Head-start programs are generally found in the most demanding colleges and aim primarily to ease the transition to college. Results seem to suggest that many of these programs have increased the retention rate, particularly of students testing below the normal admissions levels. Catch-up programs recruit students more underprepared than those in the head-start programs and tend to be found at colleges with admission levels somewhat below those at the elite colleges. Increasing demand for wider recruitment of minorities has required some of the more rigorous colleges to take in high-risk students, as at Rutgers. The tendency will be for the better prepared of the underprepared to apply to the more elite colleges. Thus Rutgers' experience will be one well worth following.

The two types of pre-college programs discussed vary both because of the clientele and the college: the elite colleges polish up students who are only relatively underprepared and a relatively high proportion of whom are already culturally acclimated to the dominant white culture; strong state universities give a second chance to students whose high school performance would not allow automatic college entrance but who have given evidence of academic potential.

If these two programs suggest levels of student preparedness and cultural thrust, they also suggest gradations of colleges. Such a hierarchy has been built into the higher education system in California. All students graduating from California high schools can be admitted to some institution of higher learning but both the institution and the student are rated as average, good, best. The university system is allowed discretions--formerly for athletes--up to only two percent of its incoming class; the regularly admitted student must have performed in the top quarter of his high school class. State colleges have standards which would allow entrance to the top half of the high school graduates. Junior colleges must therefore service half the graduating high school seniors if they wish to continue. Since college is seen more and more as a right, California moved to establish such a system. In a penetrating study of San Jose Junior College, Burton R. Clark analyzes the role of the junior college in protecting the standards of the state colleges and universities. Junior colleges are places where students are "cooled off" and led to accept alternatives to four-year colleges, alternatives more suited to their capabilities. Such junior colleges perform a role in allowing the student to change direction instead of flunking out. Clark remarks:

> A dilemma of this role, however, is that it needs to remain reasonably latent, not clearly perceived and understood by prospective clientele. Should the function become obvious, the ability of the junior college to perform it would be impaired. The realization that the junior college is a place where students reach undesired destinations would turn the pressure for college admission back on the "protected" colleges.[*]

Such pressure is obvious today. Demands by militant blacks at San Francisco State College in 1968-69 for the admission of more high-risk blacks were rejected. Attempts to widen the scope of programs and increase the survival rate at college falls primarily on the junior college. Merritt College in Oakland and Los Angeles Junior College have both emphasized skills plus culture. Junior college students generally are from a low socio-economic class and frequently work. These facts plus the constantly changing student body make for little social pressure at the colleges. Cultural attitudes are overt; but again it must be stressed that students at junior colleges have survived a middle-class high school system and their very aspirations for college suggest an acceptance of the major tenets of the dominant society.

These aspirations have jeopardized the success of the Educational Skills Centers set up by the New York university system.

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[*] *Ibid.*, p. 165.

Designed as the lowest rung of post-high school training, but frankly pre-college, the skills centers suffer from low morale in both student and faculty. If junior colleges are typically run like comprehensive high schools, then the skills centers seem like vocational schools. Students aspire through the college adapter courses to academic streams. As in California where "students with transfer intention for the most part do not transfer [to four year colleges], but neither do they complete terminal curricula," skills center students are very transient.*

At present there is much dissatisfaction with these pre-college programs in both state systems. Yet earlier "revolving door" answers to the dilemma of open admissions such as practiced by most large state universities has proved even less satisfactory. Their aim in either program has been to provide a last-chance for some students. Many of the students in large state universities fail in their first term; maybe less than forty percent graduate. The ratio of those admitted into junior colleges who complete two years may be even lower. It is at this level of pre-college for the truly underprepared that the greatest amount of curricular imagination is needed. Yet the students' aspirations are traditional, even as they fail.

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*Ibid., p. 84. For Educational Skills Center see Master Plan of the Board of Higher Education for the City University of New York, 1968, pp. 157-8.

The catch-up and head-start pre-college programs increase the chances of the somewhat underprepared student staying in college. Their main thrust is preparing and acculturating the student. They attempt nothing new in scope or approach although occasionally content may be broadened or techniques sharpened. Junior colleges do attempt to redirect the student, as do the Educational Skills Centers. It says much about educational myths as well as successes of redirection when it is noted that the college adapter and transfer programs are overwhelmingly the most popular.

3. Intensive. The theory behind intensive compensatory programs is that students enroll in ordinary freshman courses but then meet with instructors many extra hours in order to make up the deficiences in skills needed to pass the regular curricula. Results in programs utilizing this technique suggest that noticeable improvements in skills manipulation is achieved more quickly in intensive than in remedial or pre-college programs. Comparisons are difficult without more controlled data. Nonetheless, the tying of compensatory work in with college credit courses does seem to provide strong motivation for skill acquisition.

There are two models for this technique: the high-contact model used in the SEEK program in the New York City University system and the trailer model attempted by the University of Wisconsin. SEEK students are marginally prepared, but achieved test scores considerably lower than was previously admissible to the demanding City University, where the program started. It has since been tried under the same name at SUNY's Buffalo campus and under other titles elsewhere in the New York system and at Cleveland State College. Further, SEEK students were admitted from other than the college preparatory high school stream. They were able students who had chosen or been badly advised to take the general or vocational stream. SEEK attempted to backstop both their skills and factual needs by having SEEK sections meet as much as twice as often per credit as regular sections of the same course. Individual tutoring and group discussions so filled the students' time that many regular students expressed dismay over the rigor. Yet 84% of those entering City College in the fall of 1966 remained in school two years later.*

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*Master Plan, p. 198.

Teaching staff and counsellors for the SEEK program are generally separately recruited although each campus has some regular faculty associated with the program. Students at first are separated by virtue of their special sections from the bulk of the students. Since a majority of the students as well as the staff are black or Puerto Rican, underprepared separation and color separation tended to be the same thing. Such separateness clearly abetted the growing grievances which was followed by a riot and strike in May 1969. Among their demands was a voice in the SEEK program and a stepped up admissions program for minorities to City College of New York. The minority students also wished to run their own orientation program for incoming students. The major demand, for a School of Black Studies, tends to reenforce the separateness; yet the request that all education majors learn Spanish as well as something about minority history and culture seems a call for less separateness, at least among disadvantaged groups. The danger of the separateness fostered by SEEK which may be continued in a School of Black Studies is the stigma of second-classness such a division might foster. Already black educators are reacting to separate Black Studies. The SEEK program may well have to deemphasize the separateness of its clientele as well.

The trailer program model increases contact hours for a given course but does it in additional sections. Thus the students attend regular classes or lectures and also attend trailer sections. The advantage of this model is its integration of the underprepared with the regular student; its impact, though, may be less intensive than that of the SEEK program.

The Experiment in Higher Education in East St. Louis utilized the intensive technique in a most rigorous form. Students took only one course at a time; a lecture was followed by a series of small discussion groups and skills classes during 9 to 4 sessions three times a week. The question of separateness did not arise since the project (referred to as EHE), although part of Southern Illinois University, was on a separate campus. In a way it was operating as a small junior college preparing students to enter Southern Illinois University in their junior year. The smallness of the group, about one hundred, and the high faculty-student ratio--three full time professors, ten full time instructor-counsellors, and seven or so parttime professors from the main campus--makes this experiment more difficult to evaluate in terms of transferability of technique. One of the junior staff from EHE is presently trying to transfer its ideas to Pittsburgh; this should be worth a review within a year.

Intensive courses appear to give the student a reason to acquire skills while at the same time removing the problem of course credit for skills normally acquired in high school. Small groups of underprepared students also seem to act as protective organizations which provide important psychological support to the individual member.

4. Motivational. To a point all of the other techniques discussed have some motivational content: college admittance, grades, survival. The difference with programs discussed here is that motivational programs assume that the proper attitude of the student is the most important factor in overcoming skills deficiency. There are two widely divergent types of motivational programs being tried in universities today: the sensitivity session type and the self-awareness model.

Black Studies are frankly motivational; many educators fear they will stop with motivation and forget the educational content or skills achievement. At Federal City College the Black Studies Program proposed a completely separate college with two years of study devoted to "decolonialization of the mind." Courses on the black heritage in every academic discipline, including mathematics and the sciences, were to replace conventional fare. What educational value such a program might have had is uncertain; the program was never tried and many instructors did not evaluate the results--even by assigning grades--in those courses that were given.

On the other hand, the use of materials drawn from black and Puerto Rican backgrounds is an important element in the SEEK programs. Relating of the black experience to more traditional education was a feature of the EHE as well. Merritt College in Oakland, California, and Cleveland State College have tried to stimulate skills through the use of black materials.

The other motivation technique, that of the sensitivity group, is intended to develop individual insight rather than group-consciousness as the basis for self-striving. Utilizing the intense interaction of probing small groups, students are forced to think, listen, speak, and write. Gaming and a sort of psychodrama are often used. The Army has been working with this method for many years. A civilian from such an Army program has begun a communications class at Federal City College. While the marginally underprepared student resisted such methods, the truly high risk students seemed to benefit from this approach. Additional study of such programs is clearly needed.

Compensatory programs generally deal with the techniques of enabling the underprepared student to have a "second" chance at making it within the system. While the newer programs are more sophisticated in their appreciation of students' motivations they do not attempt to change the goal: graduation, symbolized by a college diploma. Indeed one apparent purpose of the Black Studies Degree Program was to allow students an easier avenue to graduation and the diploma than might be possible in the regular programs.

Yet here and there truly new educational programs have been tried which might use the thrusts of the underprepared student problem to reform higher education more generally. Arising from New Careers programs is the increasing intermixture of practicum with academic material in one program. Following the model of the practice teacher or the social worker but applying it to undergraduate studies, such a curriculum provides experience for the student who eventually drops out and academic material for those that graduate. It also gives to the academically oriented a sense of the profession and an appreciation of the relevancy which is so much in demand today. "Exposure semesters" where upperclassmen live in slums, for example, and work by day, analyze and study by night, have been tried at the University of Michigan and are planned for Green Bay and Old Westbury. Thus a combination at once satisfying to the practical demands of the lower middle class student and the idealism of the upper middle class student is available for development.

The EHE integrated curriculum is based on the "immersion models" widely used today in language and experimented with in physics at MIT. Since the normal college splits learning into segments and requires students to carry four or five segments each semester or quarter, the immersion technique might aid in the reuniting of the segments. In such a manner the student could more easily perceive how various disciplines impinge upon a single problem. The development of urban studies about pollution courses and the like attempt to show the relatedness of learning.

Yet a third innovation deserves review for its utility both for the underprepared and the average or overprepared student: the "A" paper approach. Under this system a standard of achievement is set for each milestone in a course whether it be composition papers or a course in psychiatry. A student progresses at his own rate but he must achieve the requisite level, before he may proceed down the road. Thus, in the composition class the student must write five "A" papers in order to pass. Each time he writes a composition he must rewrite it until it is an "A". In the psychiatry course the student may take the exam for the chapter at any time, and retake it as many times as necessary; he must attain the requisite score before he may continue. The obvious advantage in this approach, which might be termed the "accordian principle," is that students must achieve at a certain level right through the course. It prevents the weak student from plodding confusedly through a course and then failing or barely passing without really knowing the material presented.

These three innovations could be applied to the underprepared student without violating their needs for the traditional. They are worthy of wider experimentation as well and might in the long run provide for a more worthwhile response to present day problems than the patchwork of second-chance programs which at this time characterize the efforts of American colleges to provide for the needs of the underprepared student.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY*

Compiled by Carolyn O. Atkinson
with the assistance of Judith R. Kalb.

It is the aim of the annotated bibliography which follows to present a sampling of the materials which bear most importantly on the question which we have been considering in the preceding pages: pluralism and integration on white campuses.

It would be a task far beyond the limits of our resources to note every document which has addressed itself directly or tangentially to our central question, for within the last few years the proliferation of materials has been voluminous. Thus we have limited our annotations in several ways.

First, we have reviewed no literature which pre-dated the very excellent and extensive bibliography published by Edmund Gordon.

Second, works of a general, theoretical nature about society or social groupings and/or about other minority situations which have a bearing on our subject have, where indicated, been referred to and cited within the body of this document. They are not repeated here.

Third, we have not annotated every document received from colleges and universities or news stories which are not analyses.

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*We gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of Dr. W. Todd Furniss, of the American Council on Education.

Within the files of the Center for Policy Research are all of the documents sent us by colleges and universities about their programs for minority and disadvantaged students. We have selected from these several which seem representative of the broad spectrum of programs proposed or in operation. All of these documents have, however, informed our analysis in the previous pages. Newspapers (especially the New York Times, Washington Post, and Wall Street Journal) and magazines have been read and relevant articles clipped for the last 1½ to 2 years. Again these sources have yielded considerable information for our general analysis, but we have not noted particular items here, except for a few highly germane news analyses.

Finally, the judgment of the authors necessarily acted as a filter for articles. Since every item could not be included, decisions had to be made about what to include and what to leave out. While anticipating that there will be disagreements with our choices, we would not expect the case to be otherwise with any attempt in which personal judgment--though scholarly--played a large part. We have attempted to note articles of different philosophical, educational, ideological and political persuasions, while at the same time being sure to include those documents which were related most importantly to our concerns here. Thus, while this bibliography in no way purports to be exhaustive, we have tried to make it selectively representative.

This bibliography will have six sections:

I. Background analyses either theoretical/philosophical or empirical in nature which address the general and abstractly framed questions of the relationship of black students to white universities, the place of black studies programs in white universities, the need or lack thereof for change in the relationship of minority and disadvantaged youth to the predominantly white university, and the need or lack of need on the part of black youth for specialized university adaptations.

II. Materials concerned with more specific statements of the needs of minority students and the areas of concern which educational institutions must address if they are to meet the needs of these students. Here black studies programs are not specifically discussed.

III. Proposals, designs, or demands for programs initiated and/or issued either by students, administrators, or commentators on the general subject of minorities and disadvantaged students on white campuses.

IV. Reports or statements of programs that are already in existence: their history, components, and mechanics.

V. Assessments of programs that have been established, or of plans for programs yet to be implemented; also, any analyses or discussions of the implications for blacks, the university, or society, of black studies programs.

VI. Listing of other recent bibliographies.

Bibliography

I. Background Analyses

A. Theoretical/Philosophical

Bressler, Marvin. "White Colleges and Negro Higher Education," *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 36, No. 3, Summer 1967, 258-265.

Examination of the factors incident to providing opportunities to Blacks. Suggests factors which indicate a lack of concern on the part of the institutions, the responsibility of these institutions to provide education for blacks, and possibilities for improvements. The author says that "the doctrine of cultural pluralism furnishes an alternative to the indiscriminate universalism of amalgamation and the fierce parochialism of black separatism. It holds that there is a residual which transcends race and class which might properly be called a Negro culture comprising shared assumptions, life styles, and an art that is worth preserving." The author concludes that for these institutions to assume their full responsibility, they must be innovative in their attempts to meet the basic needs of college-age blacks, and do more than make "the now popular public confessions of past culpability."

Browne, Robert S. "The Case for Two Americas--One Black, One White," *New York Times Magazine*, August 11, 1968, p. 12.

The author states that "a growing ambivalence among Negroes is creating a great deal of confusion. . . . It arises from the question of whether American Negroes are a cultural groupsignificantly distinct from the majority culture on ethnic rather than a socio-economic basis." He identifies two ideological currents within the black community: one labelled separatist, and the other integrationist. Browne explores the history, dynamics, and implications for the future of each of these orientations. He concludes that "the black community does not have a homogeneous vision of its own predicament at this crucial juncture."

Clark, Kenneth B. "Higher Education for Negroes: Challenges and Prospects," *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 36, No. 3, Summer 1967, pp. 196-203.

The author assesses the roles of both predominantly white and predominantly Negro universities. He notes that while Negro colleges may in some ways be academically inferior, white educational institutions are morally inferior "because they are contaminated by the pervasive American disease of racism." Clark supports this indictment with specific charges. He discusses the nature of white and black universities because he maintains that higher education for Negroes cannot be discussed "without dealing directly with the nature, present structure, and the future of Negro colleges and universities." This is true because 80% of Negroes enrolled in institutions of higher education are in Negro institutions.

Furniss, W. Todd. "Racial Minorities and Curriculum Change," The Campus and the Racial Crisis, background papers for the 1969 meeting of the American Council on Education. Paperback to be distributed to ACE members, September, 1969. Publication, with additional materials, Spring 1970.

Furniss discusses the complexities and ramifications of the most typically mentioned components of black studies programs: "correcting American history by a more adequate recognition of the past and present experience of 25 million black citizens; hastening integration by improving the understanding of blacks by nonblacks; hastening integration by preparing black students to take a proud and self-confident part in American society; preparing black students to understand and work for a black community; and providing black students with a sense of 'power.'" He concludes that while the issues giving rise to the call for ethnic studies are racial, their solution will often be "racially neutral," for many of the problems of the minority students are the same as those of white students and can be solved by non-racial solutions. "The selection of elements in any institution would depend first on the needs of its clientele, second on the determination of the best options available, and third on the resources of personnel and funds that can be obtained. Colleges can contribute to meeting the needs of these students by fostering accurate histories, by offering courses dealing with ethnic minorities, by establishing appropriate compensatory programs, and by supplementing professional programs with work applicable in ethnic communities. Colleges can also undertake consciously to become models of behavior for their students."

Genovese, Eugene D. "Black Studies: Trouble Ahead," The Atlantic Monthly, June, 1969, pp. 37-41.

Genovese writes: "The universities owe to black America what they owe to white America: an atmosphere of freedom

and dissent for the pursuit of higher learning." In explanation of this statement, he dissects the psychological and political threads of demands and response regarding black studies; demonstrates the pitfalls of the various threads, and finally makes comment on just what black studies can logically be asked to do and not to do, and how far universities can go in meeting demands. "The universities must now choose between three courses: a principled but flexible response to legitimate black demands; a dogmatic, repressive adherence to traditional, liberal, and essentially racist policies; and a cowardly surrender to all black demands, no matter how destructive to the university as an institution of higher learning or to American and Afro-American society in general."

Hare, Nathan. "What Should be the Role of Afro-American Education in the Undergraduate Curriculum?" Liberal Education, March, 1969, pp. 42-50.

The author assesses the role of Afro-American education in the undergraduate curriculum in the following way: "Aside from the matter of intensified motivation (and increased commitment to the struggle to build the black community), students who have mastered even a smattering of black studies courses would be advantaged in their post-college work in the black community. They would be armed with early involvement and experience in the community superior to that of professionals not so educated. To develop this key component of community involvement, it is necessary to inspire and sustain a sense of collective destiny as a people and a consciousness of the value of education in a technological society."

Horowitz, Irving Louis. "Young Radicals and Professorial Critics," Commonweal, January 31, 1969, 552-556.

This article is a philosophical analysis of the radical, liberal, and conservative forces at work on the "nature of the American university." Horowitz discusses the roles and reactions of students and professors to events on today's campuses. He gives particular attention to professorial criticism of student demands and desires. With respect to blacks on white campuses, and their demands for "black control of certain parts of the educational curriculum" Horowitz maintains that "the struggle becomes one of autonomy at the level of student control versus integrity at the level of intellectual performance. And as in all real struggles, the problem is choosing between alternative goods.

What is entailed is a radical departure from traditional, professional concepts of the purpose of a university."

Lewis, Sir Arthur W. "Black Studies: A Black Professor's Views," *The Wall Street Journal*, May 15, 1969. Excerpted from "Black Power and the American University," *University: A Princeton Quarterly*, No. 40, Spring 1969, 8-12.

This Princeton professor of economics sees that blacks' best interests would be served by black students preparing themselves to take over a certain number of jobs in the top and middle brackets of American economic society. In his view, this goal will not be served by a concentration on Afro-American culture studies, taught by professors of questionable credentials or by separate living, studying, and working. In order to compete, the young black must know his white counterpart. Lewis also discusses the general purposes for going to college, black capitalism and why its usefulness is severely limited, and black "inferiority complexes."

Lewis, Sir Arthur W. "The Road to the Top is Through Higher Education--Not Black Studies," *New York Times Magazine*, May 11, 1969, 34-54.

This article is a more fully elaborated version of the preceding article, making essentially the same points but in more detail.

Meyer, Frank S. "The Irrelevance of Relevance," *National Review*, December 17, 1968, p. 1275.

The article presents a conservative philosophy on university education relevant to current black studies demands: "A student qua student has no rights except the right to be well taught. . . . But once he decides he wants to be taught, all decisions about the condition of his studenthood are the prerogative of those who provide him the opportunity of studying--the intellectual forms of his study, the prerogative of the faculty, and the conditions of his mode of life, the prerogative of the administration, whose task it is to lay down the rules of daily life they regard as most conducive to the pursuit of learning."

National Association of Women Deans and Counselors. "The Black Student on the Campus," Special issue of *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans and Counselors*, Vol. 32, No. 2, Winter 1969. (eleven articles)

This issue is the result of a small conference on the "Negro on the Campus" sponsored by the Ford Foundation in April, 1968, in New York City. Among the foci of the articles are the following (quoting from the editor): "Jeanne Noble explains the identity crisis of Negro college youth; Thomas Arthur, the sociological background of black power. Gloria Joseph describes the problems of the Negro on the predominantly white campus; Carl Fields offers constructive action toward their solution [Princeton's action]. . . Beverly Gunstone and Barbara Hatton present a realistic report of a challenging experiment on a new campus (FCC); . . . Florence Freedman and Florence Myers present a pioneer experiment for recruiting underprivileged youth in the cities for college careers, (College Discovery and Development Program) . . ."

Pentony, DeVere E. "The Case for Black Studies," *The Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1969, pp. 81-2, 87-89.

Professor Pentony is dean of the School of Behavioral and Social Sciences at San Francisco State. He says that the call for black studies is a call for black leadership to "help bring about individual and group pride and a sense of cohesive community." He says that black studies are seen by their advocates as a remedy for "white studies." He raises the questions of whether accepted standards and scholarship will be maintained in black studies programs, and suggests that while it is difficult to answer, the pressures for respectable scholarly performance will be as great here as elsewhere. The question of hiring black faculty has more to do with satisfying academic standards than with legality. However, the question of whether a black studies program can deny access to its programs on the basis of color, has to do with both legality and morality, and should be answered "no." The author concludes: "If a black studies program serves only to awaken whites to the desperate need to change themselves, it will have been worth the effort."

Robinson, Armstead L., Foster, Craig C., and Ogilvie, Donald H., eds. *Black Studies in the University: A Symposium*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1969.

"This volume is the edited record of the proceedings of a symposium sponsored by the Black Student Alliance at Yale in May 1968 to thrash out the intellectual and political issues encountered in implementing a program of black studies." (publisher's quote) The following are the conference participants and the subjects on which they spoke: Charles H. Taylor, Jr., Provost of Yale University, "An Introduction to the Conference"; Harold Cruse, Writer in Residence, University of Michigan, "The Integrationist Ethic as a Basis for Scholarly Endeavors;" Martin Kilson, Jr., Department of Government, Harvard University, "The Intellectual Validity of Studying the Black Experience;" Maulana Ron Karenga, Founder-Chairman of US, Watts, Calif., "The Black Community and the University: A Community Organizer's Perspective;" Gerald A. McWorter, Sociology Department, Spelman College, "Deck the Ivy Racist Halls: The Case of Black Studies;" Lawrence W. Chisolm, History Department, State University of New York at Buffalo, "Summary and Commentary;" Donald H. Ogilvie, Student, Yale University, "A Student's Reflections;" Boniface Obichere, History Department, University of California at Los Angeles, "African History and Western Civilization/" Nathan Hare, Director of Black Studies, San Francisco State College, "A Radical Perspective on Social Science Curricula;" Robert Farris Thompson, Department of History of Art, Yale University, "African Influence on the Art of the United States;" McGeorge Bundy, President, Ford Foundation, "Some Thoughts on Afro-American Studies;" Edwin S. Redkey, History Department, University of Tennessee, "On Teaching and Learning Black History;" Dr. Alvin Poussaint, Department of Psychiatry, School of Medicine, Tufts University, "The Role of Education in Providing a Basis for Honest Self-Identification;" Sidney W. Mintz, Anthropology Department, Yale University, "Summary and Commentary;" Armstead L. Robinson, Student, Yale University, "A Concluding Statement;" David Brion Davis, History Department, Cornell University, "Reflections;" and "Appendix: Afro-American Studies Major at Yale."

Shrag, Peter. "The New Black Myths," *Harper's Magazine*, May 1969, pp. 37-42.

This is a background essay which hopes that more will be done than replace old white myths with new black ones. The author raises the following questions which seem germane to the issue: "Is the Negro an American or an African; heir of a separate culture, or the most indigenous of citizens? Is his experience significant for its uniqueness or its universality? Is he anything but a white man, incomplete? The answers are crucial; in finding them we had better stay away from the old cliches."

Symposium. "The Higher Education of Negro Americans," Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 36, No. 3, Summer 1967, pp. 204-215.

The panel participants were the Associate Commissioner for Higher Education of the United States Office of Education (Peter Muirhead); the President of Morgan State College (Martin D. Jenkins); the President of Howard University (James M. Nabrit, Jr.); and an Associate Professor of Psychology at Tufts University (Bernard Harleston). A whole range of problems was discussed with some reference to the role of Negro colleges and the recently published article by Christopher Jencks and David Riesman, "The American Negro College." The role of the Negro college has implications for the whole question of Negro higher education since better than 80% of Negroes in institutions of higher learning, are in Negro institutions.

B. Empirical Background Analyses

Abram, Morris S. "The Eleven Days at Brandeis--As Seen From the President's Chair," The New York Times Magazine, February 16, 1969, pp. 28-

The story of how peace was maintained when Brandeis black students took over Ford (Communications) Hall for eleven days to enforce their demands. "The 11 days of crisis at Brandeis," says Abram, "were brought to an end without force and without capitulation to demands under coercion. The crisis was weathered successfully largely because responsibility was shared by faculty, students and alumni representatives who were involved in every decision from the first day on."

Bayer, Alan E. and Robert F. Boruch. The Black Student in American Colleges, American Council on Education Research Report, Washington, D.C., Vol. 4, No. 2, 1969.

In the authors' words, "This report provides the national normative data for comparing the characteristics of black students in different types of institutions and for comparing the characteristics of black students with their white counterparts."

Boney, J. Son. "Some Dynamics of Disadvantaged Students in Learning Situations," Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 36, No. 3, Summer 1967, pp. 315-319.

The author is the Director of Project Upward Bound, at the University of Illinois, and has studied the behavior in learning situations of students involved in this program. He finds that many of the students are deferential in their behavior and that teachers tend to reward this kind rather than more assertive behavior. The author concludes that since nonwhite students tend to place a disproportionate amount of importance on the "the evaluations of whites with reference to their role expectations," and because these youth are totally "docile and submissive" in learning situations, "teachers might use this deference to reward more assertiveness which would be enhancing to learning and social and emotional development."

Brudnoy, David. "Black Power and the Campus," National Review, October 8, 1968, pp. 1001-1004.

A conservative view of black power on the campus. "A professor who has seen black power at work on the campus warns that it is 'a contemporary evil. It must be seen as such, labeled as such, combatted as such. What is going on, on campus and off, is degrading.'"

Hamilton, Charles J., Jr. "Old Myths . . . New Realities: The Black Student on the White Campus," Mademoiselle, August, 1968, pp. 280-.

This discussion of black students' personal experiences with regard to white students at Eastern colleges and universities explains or illumines the development of black student unity leading to organization and current activism. The author raises and addresses the questions, "What is the cause of this recent racial solidarity among black students? What are their attitudes and viewpoints? What do they mean for white students and university administrations?"

Harris, Sheldon. "San Fernando's Black Revolt," Commonweal, January 31, 1969, pp. 549-552.

This article is an account of events beginning in 1967 marking "the end for San Fernando Valley State College as a lily-white pastoral utopia." The push and pull, stimulus and response of the various groups (student militants, faculty, school administration, the local community, the police, the courts, State College system authorities and the State government--Reagan and Rafferty)--are all described in their roles. The author concludes that "It is not enough to simply bring in a few hundred black or brown students from the ghetto to an all-white suburban campus community. Such students are unprepared to cope with the rigors of middle class college life without considerable assistance along the way. Both the faculty and the administration must be sensitive to their needs and must be prepared to accommodate with compassion and understanding to their problems of adjustment. Tokenism will not do."

Miller, Albert H. "Problems of the Minority Student on the Campus," Liberal Education, March, 1969, pp. 18-23.

An impassioned article on the basic underlying problem of blacks on white campuses. Says Miller, ". . . at the level of consciousness I believe in the ideals of equality and liberty, the relevance of American political and social and religious institutions in formulating and sustaining these values, and trusted in the democratic process for making the ideals concretely available. . . . But it was not . . . in accordance with my experience. But since part of my behavior must be in accord with the values and expectations of the dominant society and part in accord with actual experience, I must end up afflicted with a conflict at the very core of my life--a societally 'programmed' conflict."

Newsweek Staff. "Black Mood on Campus," Newsweek, February 10, 1969, pp. 53-59.

"What do black students want?" Newsweek interviewers and campus correspondents interviewed scores of students, administrators, faculty members at both predominantly black and predominantly white schools. They concluded that "they want to claim their own identity. They want a curriculum that will help them better serve their communities. They want institutions that let them control their own lives. . . . they no longer want to be dark imitations of whites."

Thompson, Charles H. "The Higher Education of Negro Americans: Prospects and Programs--A Critical Summary," Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 36, No. 3, Summer 1967. pp. 295-314.

As the title indicates, this is a review and summary of the papers presented at the Conference on "The Higher Education of Negro Americans: Prospects and Programs," April 16-18, 1967, at Howard University. The full conference proceedings are presented in this issue of the Journal of Negro Education.

Time. "The Dilemma of Black Studies," Time Magazine, May 2, 1969, pp. 39-40.

This article is a "Time Essay" analysis or definition of the black studies issue. Several descriptive examples of actual black studies courses are included. A major point in the essay is that black students do want their new studies to have a strong functional or practical aspect. The Essay quotes a Cornell graduate student: "Having a black studies program on a white liberal campus may turn out to be almost impossible because the administration and the faculty are just not going to let the program get at the essentials. They will simply let us study black history and wear daishikis while we get ready to work for Xerox or IBM. I'm for a black studies program that helps to destroy white culture in the minds of black people. And going through an intellectual environment is not enough: black studies has got to be an action-oriented program."

II. Minority needs and the concerns which educational institutions must address if they are to meet these needs

Bayton, James A., Lewis, Harold O., and the Journal of Negro Education Staff. "Reflections and Suggestions for Further Study Concerning the Higher Education of Negroes," The Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 36, No. 3, Summer 1967, pp. 286-294.

The authors, in attendance at the Howard University conference on the Higher Education of Negroes, have put together their thoughts on the gaps in knowledge on this subject, the type of research that should be done, and the "objectivity, ingenuity, and depth of investigation" that should characterize this work.

Dyer, Henry S. "Toward More Effective Recruitment and Selection of Negroes for College," Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 36, No. 3, pp. 216-229.

According to the Editor of this issue, the article "describes current practices, discusses recruitment as a means of social change, summarizes some of the new patterns of recruitment needed, and points out some areas in which new knowledge is desired. The author makes a plea for a more favorable view of recruitment as an essential part of the educational process and for more realistic policies and procedures."

Experiment in Higher Education Staff and Students. *Higher Education for Disadvantaged*, *Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville*, June, 1968, 58 pages.

A commentary by staff and students of the Experiment in Higher Education program. Among the faculty articles are "New Directions in Educating the Disadvantaged," and "Higher Education: Its Need for Renewal."

Kendrick, S. A. "Extending Educational Opportunity--Problems of Recruitment, Admissions, High Risk Students," *Liberal Education*, March, 1969, pp. 12-17.

A discussion of four of the complex issues involved in extending educational opportunity to black students at white institutions: 1. Techniques of recruitment and admissions; 2. "Every institution needs to decide how to deal with the fact that questions relating to race are and will remain among the most important and difficult in American society; 3. Financial aid problems; and 4. Higher educational institutions must work with lower level institutions with regard to recruiting and preparing students for college.

Negro History Bulletin Editorial. "Pressures for Negro History," *Negro History Bulletin*, October, 1968, pp. 4-5.

An historical accounting of the case for teaching black history. The editor is in favor of black history courses.

Plaut, Richard L. "Prospects for the Entrance and Scholastic Advancement of Negroes in Higher Education," *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 36, No. 3, Summer 1967, pp. 230-237.

The issue editor notes: "The writer . . . updates his study of programs and activities which provide for the increased participation of Negro students in the expanding opportunities for higher education in the United States. The programs and activities of many agencies are described in succinct form and possibilities are indicated. There is an overall note of optimism and encouragement."

Poussaint, Alvin F. and Atkinson, Carolyn O. "Negro Youth and Psychological Motivation," Journal of Negro Education , Vol. 37, No. 3, Summer 1968, pp. 241-251.

Among the factors considered relevant to the issue of the motivation of Negro youth are "the individual's self-concept, certain of his patterned needs, and the rewards which society offers for performance in any of its institutional areas." The patterned needs which operate as motivators are the need for achievement, the need for self-assertion or aggression, and the need for approval. The dynamics of these motivators are explored as are also the implications for the functioning of black youth with respect to motivation.

Valien, Preston. "Improving Programs in Graduate Education for Negroes," Journal of Negro Education, Vol. 36, Summer 1967, pp. 238-248.

We quote the editor: "(This article) considers the problems affecting Negroes in the light of the need for change in graduate programs throughout the nation. The topics include graduate education in historically Negro institutions, graduate enrollment and faculty in these schools and ways of improving the provisions and opportunities for Negroes in their graduate study."

III. Proposals, designs, or demands for programs.

College Board Review. "The Black Agenda for Higher Education," College Board Review, No. 71, Spring, 1969.

Speeches by four "black-activist educators" describing their positions concerning higher education. Under the general title "The black agenda for higher education," the four contributions are 1) "It's not a replica of the white agenda;" by Preston R. Wilcox; 2) "What we mean by the black university," by Edgar F. Beckham; 3) "The role we want for black art," by Jeff Donaldson; and 4) "Seven proposals for black-directed change," by Sidney F. Walton, Jr.

Garrett, James. "Black Power and Black Education," Washington Free Press, Vol. VIII, No. 2, April 16-30, 1969.

Garrett presents a case for "black education" by blacks. "It has been determined that there can be no such thing as a black education, a qualitative and relevant education for the black people unless the very processes of education--the systems of education--are controlled by black people. . . . If we can create an atmosphere among black children in which they can understand when to pick up the book and when to pick up the gun and truly grasp that fragile line of demarcation between destruction and creation, we will have fulfilled our responsibility and this is the meaning of our lives."

Harvard University Committee on African and Afro-American Studies. "Excerpts from Harvard Report on American Negro Studies Program," New York Times, January 22, 1969, p. C22.

After a general discussion of the ramifications of the black students' desire for some all-black experience as part of a student's Harvard experience, the Committee recommended that Harvard commit itself to six specific goals regarding Afro-American studies It also made five other major related recommendations. The six goals are as follows (quoted from the New York Times): "1. Development of undergraduate and graduate degree in Afro-American studies. 2. Appointment of new faculty members--term, tenure, and visiting--in Afro-American studies and other degree granting programs with the university to conduct these degree programs and offer appropriate courses. 3. Greater emphasis on the experience of Afro-Americans in courses offered by departments and committees. 4. Stimulation of increased research in Afro-American studies, throughout the university. 5. The establishment of a research center or institute concerned with Afro-American studies. 6. Generation of funds to achieve these goals and others which will emerge over time." The five related recommendations are as follows: 1. Recommend securing and financing a building and providing continued support to social and cultural center. 2. Recommend a standing faculty committee on degrees in Afro-American studies supervising a combined major. 3. Recommend establishment of a center for Afro-American studies. 4. Recommend establishment of a "co-ordinating committee on African studies to oversee the future increase and stabilization of courses in this area." 5. Recommend a recruitment program, including 15 to 20 fellowships for students of first-rank potential.

University of Washington. "Recommendations for the Development of a Curriculum in Black Studies, and for Other Related Changes," September, 1968.

The recommendation is for a Black American Culture curriculum: the lower division courses within various departments would provide an introduction to black studies in various disciplines. The program would be open to any student.

University of Wisconsin (Madison Campus). "Recommendations, as amended, of the Committee on Studies and Instruction in Race Relations," Faculty Document 260 A, March 3, 1969. (Approved by the Madison Campus Faculty on same date).

Recommended, among other features, the establishment of an Afro-American Studies program, and the development of an Afro-American concentration, emphasizing the need to carry this out by establishing a separate, full, department. Adds operational suggestions for conversion to such a program from present set-up.

Wayne State University Association of Black Students. "Black College Proposal," n. d.

A proposal for a black college at Wayne State University under the control of the Association of Black Students. Proposal seeks the establishment of the W.E.B. DuBois Institute of Black Studies, and notes in detail the proposed curriculum structure.

Yale University. "Press Release #184," Yale University News Bureau, New Haven, Conn., Dec. 13, 1968.

The release announces the University's decision to establish a major (B.A. degree) in Afro-American Studies for all students, effective September, 1966; and information on the intended professors, the courses of study, and how the program came about. Also submitted was "A Proposal for a Major in Afro-American studies," by the African-American Study Group.

(Numerous other documents from universities too extensive to cite here, have been received by us and are in our files.)

IV. Reports or statements of programs that are already in existence.

Antioch College. "The Antioch Program for Interracial Education--The First Three Years, 1964-1967," Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, July, 1967.

Since 1964, Antioch College has had a growing program "of recruting and teaching students who normally could not seek college as a means for realizing their potential." The report on the program includes its history, purpose, methods, and results, and makes recommendations.

Berger, Leslie. "University Programs for Urban Black and Puerto Rican Youth," Educational Record, Fall, 1968, Vol. 49, No. 4, pp. 382-388.

This article is a report on SEEK (Search for Education, Elevation, and Knowledge) established at the City University of New York, September, 1966. The main thrust of SEEK, a program for black and Puerto Rican youth, is that selected students enroll at the school as special students who take numbers of special classes according to their needs until they have developed the skills necessary to become regular students attending regular sessions. Special financial aid and counseling are provided. Dormitory-living is available. The results of the program have been promising. The author says: "Today, educational institutions have a responsibility to engage in an active campaign to recruit ghetto youth, even when they may not seek out a college on their own initiative."

Bureau of Social Science Research, Inc. Washington Area Universities and the Community: Urban Programs and Courses in Eleven Institutions of Higher Education, Washington, D.C., April, 1969, pp. 1-.

Projects to bring higher education to the inner-city poor initiated by either school administrations or student organizations of the Washington area colleges and universities are included in this publication. Examples are: Upward Bound at Howard University and Trinity College; Black Organization of Students at the Catholic University of America; and OPEN which is a cooperative effort of all area institutions of higher education and citizens to encourage, counsel, and inform inner-city high school students, and to help them find aid to get into college.

Denton, John. "New Black Studies at Yale Cover Slavery Era and Up," *The New York Times*, May 15, 1969, pp. 49-.

In a brief review of the black studies program at Yale University, the author indicates its approach and course content.

Dunbar, Ernest. "The Black Studies Thing," *The New York Times Magazine*, April 6, 1969, pp. 25-.

The article describes the Cornell University black student situation, focusing most heavily on black studies. It includes testimony and opinion on various basic and primarily controversial aspects of black studies: whether or not the instructors should be black; whether or not a black studies department can be autonomous of the university, and so forth. The discussion has the quality of a "debate" about these and other general issues.

Egerton, John. *Higher Education for "High Risk" Students*, Southern Education Foundation, Atlanta, Georgia, April, 1968.

This report results from a national survey of colleges and universities for the purpose of discovering "what some of the predominantly white, four-year colleges and universities are doing to make higher education available to low-income and minority group students who lack the credentials--but not the qualities--to succeed in college." The report presents four such programs in detail: Southern Illinois University, University of Wisconsin, and University of California (Berkeley and Los Angeles campuses). Eight other public institutions are discussed briefly, as are seven programs from private educational institutions.

Focus on the Federal City College. "A Perspective: Black Studies Program at FCC," Vol. 2, No. 5, Feb., 1969, pp. 1-4.

The article describes a four-year degree program leading to a degree in Black Studies and, in addition, describes ". . . several individual courses offered by the Black Studies Program to the entire student body for credit."

New York College Bound Corporation. "New York College Bound Program," New York College Bound Corporation, New York City, n. d.

Information pamphlet describing the College Bound program and listing the participating institutions.

Northwestern University. "The Recruitment, Selection, and Retention of Disadvantaged Students at Northwestern University," Northwestern University, n. d.

This is a detailed report on Northwestern's program for disadvantaged students. It includes the following aspects: specialized recruitment and selection, a pre-college summer enrichment program, financial aid, summer job assistance, and counselling.

Oberlin College, Committee for the Special Educational Opportunities Program," Oberlin College, May, 1968.

This is a detailed report of the Special Educational Opportunities Program established at Oberlin. Among the components discussed are recruitment, financial aid to black and other disadvantaged students, tutorial services, and flexibility in course load. The proposal of the Ad Hoc Committee on Afro-American Life and Culture is included. The report also touches on the pre-college SEOP program.

Office of Civil Rights. "HEW and Civil Rights," U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., (U.S. G.P.O., 1968.)

Government pamphlet outlines HEW's role in enforcing the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Office of Education. "Search '68," U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, September 1968.

The purpose of the Educational Talent Search program "is to identify and encourage young people of exceptional financial need to complete high school and undertake or complete postsecondary education and to inform these youths . . . of the opportunities available to them for financing a higher education." The booklet describes the 72 projects supported under the program for the academic year 1968-1969.

Queens College. "Project Upward Bound--Proposal for 1968-1969," Queens College of the City University of New York, December 1967.

This program for high school students of "high academic risk" in New York City schools is described in this information pamphlet.

Rossman, Michael. "Blacks at Mainstream U.: The Problems of Desegregating," Commonweal, October 14, 1968, pp. 549-556.

The author suggests some general innovative programs that he believes would both aid schools in handling their new waves of minority students, as well as improve "education": A teacher's Ph.D. replacing the thesis by a serious program of experiment and theory in teaching/learning; an Extraordinary Convocation lasting a month to teach faculty to learn "what it needs to know to meet its new problems;" programs of black and white cooperation on relevant issues such as "How to Talk the Man's Language and Beat the System" for newcomers; and encourage Free University programs as a prime area of innovation. The author says that "the acute problem of making colleges finally respond usefully to America's racism may also provide a new level for cracking open their educational log-jam."

University of Connecticut. "Admission and Services for Afro-American Students," University of Connecticut, 1968.

Announcement that the university has undertaken a program to encourage Afro-Americans to attend the University of Connecticut, having enlisted the support of the Organization of Afro-American Students and provided funds and facilities. This document refers to an available Bulletin for Black Students, and available facilities of the Afro-American Cultural Center which is open to all students.

V. Assessment of Established Programs or Program Proposals; Analyses of Implications of Black Studies

Bray, Thomas J. "Black Studies Boom," Wall Street Journal, February 3, 1969, pp. 1 and 21.

Overall review of what is happening as black studies programs are developed at colleges and universities all over the country. The article primarily addresses itself to difficulties of setting quality programs before a body of scholars and literature has been developed. The subsections of the article are entitled "Colleges race to open departments focusing on study of Negroes;" "a scramble develops to get teachers;" "scholarly works are almost non-existent;" "and a struggle over autonomy" (especially as it relates to quality).

Buckley, William. "Black Faculty?" *National Review*, January 14, 1969, p. 41.

Buckley quotes a mid-western professor: "My own guess is that the demands, e.g., for black faculty, are not really substantive but are merely items on a list drawn up to test the pliability of the authorities: if so, then receiving those demands, will not appease the insurgents, but merely reinforce their hope of getting everything, i.e., total command of the institution."

Furniss, W. Todd. "Black Studies Programs and Civil Rights Violations," A.C.E. Special Report, *American Council on Education*, April 8, 1969.

This article addresses itself to the warning issued on March 5, 1969, by the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare "that three specific practices of some colleges and universities constitute violations of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The practices all concern the establishment of programs or facilities on the basis of race, separate housing for students; separate social activities space; and separate colleges, schools, or institutes." The author explores the various curricular responses made to the problem of blacks on white campuses in an effort to identify factors relevant to the civil rights issue. The standard curriculum prevails in most predominantly white colleges, and is considered inappropriate by advocates of black studies. One black studies adaptation modifies this curriculum by incorporating various black studies courses or programs into the existing program. This program is open to all students. The other principal black studies adaptation is quite different in that its chief characteristic is a "segregated academic program for black students only." It usually includes demands for a

separate department "with a program determined solely by black students and faculty and taught by black faculty whose qualifications are to be determined by blacks alone." The author then lists the following as issues emerging from this analysis of different types of curricula and important for consideration beyond those mentioned in the memo from the Civil Rights Office: separate facilities; separate academic programs; separatism (as distinct from segregation) and civil rights; primary commitment to academic principles or racial identity; autonomy; appropriate courses and materials; availability of staff; costs; political considerations; definitions. The author comments on each of these and then concludes: "It should be clear, however, that although the Civil Rights Act of 1964 may prohibit certain features suggested or adopted for black studies, there still remain a wide range of acceptable programs that can be established without regard to possible legal violations. It would be unfortunate if the recent memorandum from the Office for Civil Rights were to halt or delay consideration of such programs."

Hare, Nathan. "The Case for Separatism," Newsweek, February 10, 1969.

Part of the Newsweek exploration of Black Mood on Campus. The other side of the debate was presented by Roy Wilkins (see below).

Kihss, Peter, "Clark Scores 'Separatism' at Antioch," New York Times, May 23, 1969.

News analysis of Kenneth B. Clark's attack on Antioch, of which he is a trustee, for banning white students from the Black Studies Institute because of "irrelevant background." Clark said, "It is the whites who need a black studies program most of all."

National Observer. "Black Studies: How they Grow in the Colleges," March 3, 1969, pp. 1-. Unsigned.

The article notes: ". . . two concepts of black studies--the one cool, detached, and white-controlled; the other passionate, committed, and black-controlled--have already caused conflict at more than a dozen colleges and universities this year." With the University of Wisconsin and Wayne State University as examples, the article discusses the particulars of the above quoted conflict.

Roberts, Steven V. "Black Studies Aim to Change Things," New York Times, May 15, 1969, p. L. 49.

A review of black studies from personal viewpoints throughout the academic community, with the emphasis being a discussion of the purpose and content of black studies overall.

U.S. News and World Report. "What Negro Students Demand and What They Get," June 24, 1968, pp. 82-84.

The article provides a picture of black pressure and university response as it took place in colleges and universities all over the country. ". . . 'black power' demands are growing, threatening to overturn century old traditions of higher education in this country. Promises are now being made to seek out and enroll more Negro students next autumn, and to give them financial help and special tutoring. More Negroes are to be hired as professors, counsellors and athletic coaches."

Wall Street Journal. "Black Student Revolt," January 24, 1969, pp. 1-20.

The article notes that the colleges' bid to enroll disadvantaged students brought both problems and protests. In commenting on the situation at San Francisco State, Queens College, and Brandeis, the article says that "many of the youth recruited for such programs haven't been the grateful, diligent students some college administrators expected. Rather they have been in the vanguard of the protest movements that recently have wracked dozens of campuses across the country . . . ."

Wilkins, Roy. "The Case Against Separatism: Black Jim Crow," Newsweek, February 10, 1969, p. 57.

The other side of the debate with Nathan Hare, and part of Newsweek's analysis, "Black Mood on Campus."

VI. Other Bibliographies

Furniss, W. Todd. "Colleges and Minority/Poverty Problems: Bibliography and Record of Events," American Council on Education, unpublished. (August 1969)

This bibliography is the most current to have come to our attention, and deals more specifically with the issues involving minority youth on white campuses than do other bibliographies.

Gordon, Edmund. "Disadvantaged Population : Preface to a Bibliography," IRCD Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 4, (September 1967) Total issue.

IRCD Bulletin, published by the ERIC Information Retrieval Center on the Disadvantaged, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Dr. Furniss notes that a bibliography of "Relevant Curriculum for Minority Groups and Black Studies," is in preparation by ERIC-IRCD.

Red, White and Black: Minorities in America, Combined Book Exhibit, Inc., Scarborough Park, Briarcliff Manor, N.Y.

Dr. Furniss notes "Bibliography prepared for June 1969 American Library Association Conference. Lists paperbacks and bibliographies on the subject--sixteen columns of bibliographies alone."